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PREFACE.

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The History of the Northern American Indians herewith made public is issued by The Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society in lieu of the regular Quarterly publications of the Society for January and April, 1910. The unique interest and value presented in this manuscript of David Zeisberger is such that the members of the Publication Committee of the Society felt they could in no way better subserve the purpose of the Society than by producing this historical material for its patrons and the general public. Some two years ago the Society learned of the vast and rich storehouse of original manuscripts preserved by the Moravian Church at its national headquarters in Bethlehem, Pa. Visits by members of the Ohio Society to Bethlehem revealed the extent of the historical lore there on deposit. Concerning the records preserved in the Moravian Library at Bethlehem, an article by Prof. Hulbert appeared in the QUARTERLY of The Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society for April, 1909, Volume XVIII, page 199. Much of the material in this library consists of the journals, diaries and records of the Moravian missionaries to the American Indians, recounting their indefatigible and self-sacrificing labor among the copper-colored savages of Pennsylvania, New York, Ohio, Michigan, and even Canada. These recitals for thrilling romance, religious devotion and incomparable privation are second only to the Relations of the Jesuit Fathers.

Perhaps the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society never rendered a more valuable service, in its purpose to secure and preserve original historical data, than it has rendered in the present publication. The Zeisberger Indian History is more than a contribution at first hand to early Ohio chronicles; it not only throws new light upon the character and customs of the aborigines, but it imparts such an additional fund of knowledge to the period in question that it gives in no slight degree a new coloring to some phases of previously accepted history.

The Library authorities of the Moravian Church, at Bethlehem, generously granted permission to the Ohio Society to translate and publish, under agreed conditions, such portions of the Moravian Archives as might be selected. For this inestimable privilege the officials of the Ohio Society hereby express their appreciation and gratitude. For the work of editing and annotating the translations the services of Prof. Archer B. Hulbert were secured. How successfully he has accomplished his task the notes following the text of the manuscript amply testify. The Society is also most fortunate in securing the services of the Rev. William Nathaniel Schwarze, Librarian of the Moravian Archives and Professor in the Moravian Theological Seminary, as the translator of the manuscripts selected for publication.

E. O. RANDALL,
Secretary and Editor Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society.

April 1, 1910.

DAVID ZEISBERGER'S HISTORY OF THE NORTHERN AMERICAN INDIANS.

EDITED BY ARCHER BUTLER HULBERT AND WILLIAM NATHANIEL SCHWARZE.

INTRODUCTION.

The present volume reproduces the manuscript written in German by the Moravian hero-missionary, The Reverend David Zeisberger, at his mission home beside the Muskingum River, in Ohio, in the years 1779 and 1780.

114

Though there is extant a most excellent biography of this noble man, *The Life and Times of David Zeisberger*, by Bishop Edmund De Schweinitz (Philadelphia, 1870), very little is popularly known of him.

In the center of the old Black Forest of America, near New Philadelphia, Ohio, a half-forgotten Indian graveyard lies beside the dusty country road. You may count here several score of graves by the slight mounds of earth that were raised above them a century or so ago. At one extremity of this plot of ground an iron railing incloses another grave marked by a plain marble slab. The grave is David Zeisberger's, — Moravian Missionary to Indians in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, and Canada for fifty active years, who was buried at this spot at his dying request, that he might await the Resurrection among his faithful Indians. His record is perhaps unequalled in point of length of service by the record of any missionary in any land.

On a July night in 1726 a man and his wife fled from their home in Austrian Moravia toward the mountains on the border of Saxony, for conscience' sake. They took with them nothing save their five-year-old boy, who ran stumbling between them, holding to their hands. The family of three remained in Saxony ten years. Then the parents emigrated to America, leaving the son of fifteen years in Saxony to continue his education. But within a year he, too, took passage for America, and joined his parents in Georgia, just previous to their removal to Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

The lad soon became interested in the study of the Delaware Indian language among the natives of that tribe living along the Susquehanna, and at once showed proficiency. Appreciating his talent, the fathers of the Moravian Church determined to send the young man to Europe, that in the best universities he might secure his training. He went as far as New York. There, just as his ship was to sail, he pleaded with tears and on his knees to be allowed to return to the woods of Pennsylvania and the school of the red men there. The words of the wise were overcome by those of the youth, and an earnest soul, as brave as it was earnest, was saved to a life of unparalleled service and devotion.

On returning to Bethlehem, Zeisberger joined a class that was studying the Iroquois tongue, the language of that powerful nation which practically controlled, by tomahawk and threat, all the territory between the colonies and the Mississippi. Soon the looked-for opportunity of visiting the Iroquois' land came, and the young student (who had been enrolled in the class of candidates as *David Zeisburger, destinirter Heidenbote*) was told off to accompany the heroic Frederick Christian Post. This was in the dark year 1745, only a few months previous to the outbreak of the old French war. The youth was now in his twenty-fourth year.

In February of the next year after these two men entered the shadow of old New York, the report was circulated in New York City that two spies had been captured among the Iroquois, who were guilty of attempting to win that nation over to the French. Such a charge at this time was the most serious imaginable, for the contest for the friendship of the Iroquois between the French on the St. Lawrence and the English on the Atlantic had become of great importance. Upon that friendship, and the support it guaranteed, seemed to hang the destiny of the Continent. The rumor created endless consternation, and the spies were hurried on to Governor Clinton. Their trial resulted in imprisonment for six weeks, until the two were freed by an ordinance passed by Parliament exempting the missionaries of the Moravian Church from taking oath to the British Crown. Such was Zeisberger's first experience.

Back to the Iroquois land journeyed the liberated prisoner, and for ten doubtful years, until 1755, Zeisberger was engaged in learning the languages of the various tribes of the Six Nations, and in active missionary service. His success was great. Perhaps in all the history of this famous Indian Nation there was no other man, with the exception of Sir William Johnson, whom they trusted as much as they trusted David Zeisberger. Cheated on the one hand by the Dutch of New York and robbed on the other by the agents of the Dutch and the English, the Iroquois became suspicious of all men; and it is vastly more than a friendly compliment to record that in his mission-house at Onondaga, they placed the entire archives of their nation, comprising possibly the most valuable collection of treaties and letters from colonial governors ever made by an Indian nation on this continent. But war now drove the missionary away, as throughout his life war was ever to dash his fondest dreams and ever to drive him back.

Between 1745 and 1750 Zeisberger labored in New York, at Shamokin in Pennsylvania and in the valley of Wyoming; in 1750 he went to the Iroquois land with Cammerhoff; he then visited Europe but returned immediately and was a resident at Onondaga until the old French war opened in 1755; he was at Friedenshütten in 1765 and 1766; in the year following he crossed the mountains for the first time and met the Delawares on the Allegheny River; in 1768 and 1769 he was stationed in western Pennsylvania at Goschgoschünk, and at Lawanakhannek in 1769 and 1770; in the latter year his work carried him to the Beaver River; a year later he advanced to the Muskingum River in Ohio where the three well-known Moravian mission stations were built, Gnadenhütten, Lichtenau and Schoenbrünn; from now until 1781 he lived among the Delawares, though visiting the savage Shawanese in the Scioto

114 on at least one occasion; in 1781 his mission was broken up by the British renegades and the missionary was driven with his flock to Sandusky. Now, in [illegible], begins the *Diary of David Zeisberger,* edited by Eugene F. [illegible] (Cincinnati, 1885) which has been the only work published in English of Zeisberger's.

The record of Zeisberger's resolute faithfulness to the remnant of his church from this time onward is almost incredible. Like a Moses he led them always, and first to a temporary home Macomb County, Michigan. From there they were in four years removed by the Chippewas. The forlorn pilgrims now set sail in two sloops on Lake Erie; they took refuge from a terrible storm in the mouth of the Cuyahoga River. For a time they rested at a temporary home in Independence Township, Cuyahoga County, Ohio. Famine drove them in turn from here. Setting out on foot, Zeisberger led them next along the shore of Lake Erie westward to the present site of Milan, Erie County, Ohio. Here they resided until the outbreak of the savage Indian War of 1791. To escape from this Zeisberger secured from the British Government a tract of land twelve miles long and six miles wide for the Moravian Indians beside the Grand River in Canada. Here the pilgrims remained six years. But with the close of the Indian War, it was possible for them to return to their beloved home in the Tuscarawas Valley. The United States had given to the Moravian Church two tracts of land here, embracing the sites of the three towns formerly built, containing in all twelve thousand acres.

Back to the old home the patriarch Zeisberger brought his little company in the year 1798. His first duty amid the scene of the terrible Gnadenhütten Massacre was not forgotten. With a bowed head and heavy heart the old man and one assistant gathered from beneath the dense mass of bush and vine, whither the wild beasts had carried them, the bones of the ninety and more sacrificed Christians, and over their present resting-place one of the proudest of monuments now rises. For full ten years more this hero labored in the shadow of the forests where his happiest days had been spent, and only as the winter of 1808 came down upon the valley from the lakes did his great heart cease beating and his spirit pass through the heavenly gates.

Zeisberger's eminent comrades, John Heckewelder and Benjamin Mortimer, thus speak of his character:*

> "He was endowed with a good understanding and a sound judgment; a friend and benefactor to mankind, and justly beloved by all who knew him, with perhaps the exception of those who are enemies of the Gospel which he preached. His reticence was the result of the peculiar circumstances of his life. He undertook many solitary journeys, and, in the first half of his life, lived at places where there either was no society, or such as was not congenial. Hence he withdrew within himself, and lived in a close communion with his unseen but ever present heavenly Friend. In all his views he was very thorough, not impulsive, not suffering himself to be carried away by extraneous influences, not giving an opinion until he had come to a positive and settled conclusion in his own mind. Experience invariably proved the correctness of his judgment. To this the missionaries who served with him all bear witness. Receiving, as it were, a glimpse of the future, through the deep thoughts and silent prayers in which he engaged, he stood up, on most occasions, full of confidence, and knew no fear. Amid distressing and perilous circumstances, not only his fellow-missionaries, but the Indian converts, invariably looked to him; and his courage, his undaunted readiness to act, his comforting words cheered them all. He would never consent to have his name put down on a salary-list, or become a 'hireling', as he termed it; saying, that although a salary might be both agreeable and proper for some missionaries, yet in his case it would be the contrary. He had devoted himself to the service of the Lord among the heathen without any view of a reward, other than such as his Lord and Master might deign to bestow upon him".
>
> "Zeisberger was fully convinced that his vocation to preach the Gospel to the Indians and spread the kingdom of God was of divine origin, and therefore he sacrificed all vanities of the world, all convenience, and whatever is highly esteemed among men, and took up the mission of his life in strong faith, relying upon the blessing and aid of that Lord whom he served, and with joyous courage, in the midst of scorn and reproach, persecutions and menaces, hunger and perils, triumphing at last, in spite of every foe. His work was distinguished by perseverance, faithfulness, zeal, and courage. Nothing afforded him more satisfaction than the genuine conversion of those to whom he preached. This was the highest goal of his ambition. If he could gain one soul, and bring it to a saving knowledge of Christ, it was for him a more precious gift than if he had come into possession of the whole world.

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* De Schweinitz *Life of Zeisberger.*

To describe the joy he experienced when an erring sheep returned to the fold is impossible. In his ministry he neither forgot that he had to contend with 'the prince of the power of the air, the spirit that worketh in the children of disobedience', nor that God was on his side. And, truly, he did overcome Satan, in an illustrious way, by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of his testimony; and loved not his life unto the death. He was not only bold in God, fearless and full of courage, but also lowly of heart, meek of spirit, never thinking highly of himself. Selfishness was unknown to him. His heart poured out a stream of love to his fellowmen. In spite of his constant journeys and exposure, he never needlessly sacrified his health. His whole bearing was extremely venerable. He was an affectionate husband; a faithful and ever-reliable friend. In a word, his character was upright, honest, loving, and noble, as free from faults as can be expected of any man this side of the grave".

The original manuscript comprising the present volume is preserved in the Moravian Archives at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania; it has been followed literally by Professor Schwarze in making the excellent translation. Though lacking many features of careful composition, the original bears everywhere the evidences of calm, straight-forward, well-founded narrative. Being a man of singularly unselfish devotion and with great ability to focus his energies upon efforts that made up his life-work, Zeisberger applied himself to the study of Indian languages to such purpose that he mastered the Delaware language and the Onondaga dialect of the Iroquois, the two most important languages of the North American Indians, and was able to do much for their development. He learned to know the Indians. He was not troubled with any misleading or romantic notions about the character and traits of these men of the woods. His knowledge of the manners, customs, character, and country of the Indians was perfected by his travels, study, observation, and uninterrupted labors.

All this argues the credibility of his narrative. Indeed, careful consideration will lead to the conclusion that as the story is given simply without aspiration to rhetorical embellishment, it is also clear and well-founded in its testimony. Zeisberger always uses calm and deliberate language, whether treating of the degradation and moral deformity of the savages, or of their redeeming traits. He really loved the Indians, spent his life in

the effort to do them good, and he gives dispassionately and 114
honestly what he had abundant opportunity to learn of their character, customs and country.

The name of this volume, "History of the Indians," was 128
not given to the manuscript by its author, but, by the Bishop 114
De Schweinitz. Zeisberger, had he named it, would probably have called it, "Notes on the History, Life, Manners, and Customs of the Indians," and the most casual reader will recognize from the mode of presentation and the occasional repetitions that the manuscript is in the form of notes. It has seemed best, however, to reproduce it verbatim as written. The complete analytical index will fully make up for irregularity in arrangement and the lack of proper ordering of the material.

This manuscript, of upwards of eighty thousand words, was 114
evidently written for the Rev. Henry Loskiel to aid him in the preparation of his most valuable *History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians of North America.* Deriving his material from various sources, and writing inclusively of all the American Indians, Loskiel made less use of Zeisberger's manuscript than one would suppose, possibly incorporating, in one form or another, one-third of this manuscript and giving very slight recognition of the source of information. Moreover, writing as one who had little first-hand knowledge of his subject, many facts told by the venerable missionary of a certain Indian tribe lost, under Loskiel's treatment, much of their value, especially, when represented as though true of the typical American Indian. The result is that these pages from Zeisberger's pen, in the opinion of the editors, give the most reliable and accurate description in existence of the Indians of New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, written by one intimately acquainted with them. Lacking the polish and general literary excellence of his comrade John Heckewelder's *History*, the student perusing the two will surely agree that for solid information given in simple straight-forward style, the Zeisberger notes take first rank as a work of value. For instance, Zeisberger was practically uninfluenced by the appalling superstitions of the savages; the shams and frauds of their impotent sorcerers made but little impression on the rugged sense of the faithful missionary; so much so that one cannot

114 read the few sentences which imply a deviation from this steady attitude without grewsome sensations.

The antiquarian and archaeologist will find in this volume interesting additional proof of the relationship of the so-called "Moundbuilders" and the earlier Indians, the implication being exceedingly strong that they were one and the same race; the reference to mounds, arrow-heads, stone hatchets, etc., etc., being illuminating.

Mention should be made of Zeisberger's attitude toward the Indian legends, especially that of Iroquois' conquest of the Delawares. It was only proper that this historian should include in his narrative the legends which were told to him; that he did not examine them critically and pass upon their accuracy dogmatically is not, in the opinion of the editors, a discredit to him. Banished as he voluntarily was from every access to reliable historical information, and overwhelmed with the great tasks he patiently set himself to perform, it is impossible to conceive of his even attempting to examine the myths that were told him by the lips of his red skinned brethren. It would be only fair, then, to the writer of this admirable work, for the reader mentally to insert, as these legends are recounted, the words "It is said," "they say," or "they believe," etc., for the spirit of the author never warrants our believing that he received them without question. Zeisberger did not express himself in such a manner as to warrant the unqualified statement, as we elsewhere note, made by the careful Parkman, that he (Zeisberger) put faith in the story of a deceptive conquest of the Delawares by the Iroquois.

For a considerable mass of new facts concerning the life and character of the Indians in Pennsylvania, New York and Ohio, of their treatment of each other, of the married relationship, of the treatment of children, of home life and of political affairs, the student will look in vain outside of this Zeisberger manuscript. Its author wrote from an experience covering almost uninterruptedly the period from 1745 to 1778. The story of his life during those years should be read in De Schweinitz's excellent volume; no clear understanding of Ohio's history, especially in the Revolutionary period, is possible without knowing this volume. It is proper to note here a significant fact:

Zeisberger's mature acquaintance with the redmen came in those years just preceding and succeeding Pontiac's Rebellion; these were the years of dissolution, the years when the influences of civilization and the coming of the European completed the overthrow of the Indian, his family life, his state, his ancient code of laws and social customs. In effect Pontiac said, "After me the deluge;" when the Revolutionary War came on, the redman of the Middle West was as different, compared with his grandfather as we of the Twentieth Century differ from what our great-grandfathers were. One of the most valuable features of Zeisberger's *History* lies just here. Having intimately known the Indian in transformation — the Indian that, though taking the musket and the axe and the blanket, was looking back wonderingly at the bow and stone ax and the feather-and-hemp covering — he is continually giving us precious glimpses, as accurate as they are rare, of the primeval redman. This series of facts concerning these first Americans makes Zeisberger's manuscript of more than ordinary value for his attitude is very largely that of a man looking backward; no other writer of his time maintains such an attitude or has left us a record of equal minuteness relating to the region covered.

On reading his manuscript one is inclined to believe thoroughly in Zeisberger's proposition that no one could get at the real facts concerning the inner life of the redmen unless engaged in the work of converting them.

Lastly, yet of great importance, is the scientific information contained in the manuscript. Through the able assistance of Dr. Arthur Magnum Banta, of the Carnegie Station for Experimental Evolution, the full scientific value of Zeisberger's comment and description may be appreciated by the reader. From the standpoint of the biologist, for instance, the manuscript seems to be reliable and is extremely interesting. It shows intrinsic evidence of being a reliable and careful account of the various animals and plants which the author observed with interest and about which he learned various facts as well as fancies from the Indians. Zeisberger has stated nothing which he did not suppose to be true, and the few fanciful statements are easily recognized since they are such as would today be found in any lay-

114 man's account of natural things about him. Written by a man not a biologist the manuscript could not be other than an honest and in the main conservative account or it would show inconsistencies which could not have been appreciated by its author. No such inconsistencies appear. The chief scientific interest in the manuscript arises from the fact that it depicts conditions before the white settlers came into the Middle West, and before the ax, the rifle and the steel trap had seriously interfered with primitive natural conditions such as had existed from time immemorial. The changes in the animal and plant life since the author wrote are, of course, most sweeping. The account has its great interest and value because it is the only reliable record of the fauna and flora of the region before such marked changes occurred.

113 For the opinions expressed and views taken in the footnotes of this volume, as well as errors therein, the writer is personally responsible.

Zeisberger's published works include the *Diary* above mentioned; *Essay of a Delaware Indian and English Spelling Book for the use of the Schools of the Christian Indians on Muskingum River* (Philadelphia, 1776); *A Collection of Hymns for the use of the Christian Indians, of the Missions of the United Brethren in North America* (Philadelphia, 1803); *Sermons to Children* (Philadelphia, 1803); *Aug. Gottl Spangenberg. Something of Bodily Care for Children* (Philadelphia, 1803); *The History of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ*, by the Rev. Samuel Lieberkühn, M. A. (Tr. by Zeisberger). The above are in the Delaware language. Zeisberger's *Verbal Biegungen der Chippewayer* [Delawaren] was published in Vater's *Analekten der Sprachkunde* (Leipzig, 1821).

Zeisberger's manuscripts are numerous and include *Deutsch und Onondagaisches Worterbuch, Essay toward an Onondaga Grammar, Onondagaische* Grammatica (translated into English by Peter S. Duponceau, LL. D., still in Mss.), *A Grammar of the Lenni-Lenape, or Delaware Indians* (also translated by Dr. Duponceau, in Mss.), *A Dictionary in German and Delaware, Delaware Glossary, Delaware Vocabulary, Phrases and Vocabularies in Delaware, Delaware Grammar, Harmony of the Gos-*

pels in Delaware, Hymns for the Christian Indians in Delaware, Litany and Liturgies in Delaware, Zeisberger's own Mss. Hymn Book in Delaware, Sermons by Zeisberger in Delaware, Seventeen Sermons to Children, Church Litany in Delaware, Short Biblical Narratives in Delaware, Vocabulary in Maqua and Delaware. The last fourteen *Mss.* were collected by Edward Everett and are preserved in the Harvard University Library; the remaining Zeisberger material is in the Moravian archives at Bethlehem. Here, too, are preserved Zeisberger's diaries and letters covering his long career on the frontier and possessing very great historical value. These include the narration of his arrest in New York, of his journeys with Cammerhoff, Mack and Spangenberg, of his stay at Onondaga, 1755, his journals of 1762-67, including his journal of the trip to the Cayuga town in 1766 and to Goschgoschüng in 1767, the journal of his trip to the Allegheny, 1767-8, and the diaries and letters covering his whole Ohio, Michigan and Canadian experiences, 1771-1808. It is expected to issue a collection of Zeisberger's unpublished diaries, journals and letters as Volume Two of *The Moravian Records.*

ARCHER BUTLER HULBERT.

Marietta College, Marietta, Ohio,
December 10, 1909.

3;Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7
Eastern Woodland Indians NM4

A HISTORY OF THE INDIANS.

E 142 The North American Indians are of middle size, well built, straight, light-footed, well adapted for travel through the forest, much of which is due to the fact that they do no heavy work, but support themselves by the chase.[1] Their color is brown, but of different shades. Some are light brown, hardly to be distinguished from a brown European, did not their eyes and hair betray them. Again, others are so dark that they differ little from mulattoes.[2] Their hair is jet-black and coarse, almost like the hair of a horse's mane.[3] Their heads become gray or even white in old age, otherwise they are without exception, black. E 302 301 The men rarely let the hair grow long, and it is common practice among them, though the custom is obsolescent, that they root out the hair from the forehead backward so that the head is bald up to the crown and only a hand-breadth of it in circular form is suffered to remain, whence in the case of savages generally depend long braids, one on either side, closely plaited and bound by bracelets of coral, some, also, hanging silver upon them. E 301 304 It is a very common that they wear a plume of feathers on the middle of the head, rising straight up or hanging downward. They frequently cut the helix of the ear, leaving the upper and lower ends intact and then hang bits of lead to it so that it is stretched. Then this curved border of the auricle is bound with brass wire, distending it considerably, and decorated with silver ornaments. Among Indians who have come in contact with whites this is less often done. They, also, pierce the nose and adorn it with silver. The beard is rooted out as soon as it begins to grow. The men tattoo their bodies in arm, leg or face with all manner of figures, serpents, birds or other animals, which are marked out by pricking the skin with a needle, powder or soot being afterward rubbed into the punctures. Occasionally, the women mark their bodies thus. The women let the hair grow long, so that it sometimes reaches to the knees; they do not braid it but tie a cloth around it. D 301 302 The Mingoes,[4] Shawano[5] and Wiondatoo[6] women have a long braid reaching the hips, bound in cloth

Eastern Woodland Indians NM4

D

and red ribbon, in the case of the rich, being further adorned with silver clasps of considerable weight from top to bottom. The Delawares, also, do this, though not so generally. The women wear earrings of wampum, coral or silver. 301 302

The men hunt, secure meat for the household, clothing for their wives and children, getting it in exchange for hides, build houses or huts, and also help their wives clear the land for cultivation and build fences around it. The duties of the women are cooking, finding fire-wood, planting and reaping. They plant corn, principally, making of this their bread, which is baked in the ashes, and preparing with it various dishes. Besides, they raise pumpkins of various kinds, potatoes, beans and other vegetables, which they have learned to know through the whites, such as cabbage, turnips, etc.[7] E 462

The best time for the chase is in the fall, when the game is fat and the hides are good. Hence, they commonly in September and October go hunting with their families, remaining afield until the New Year or longer, though after that the skins cannot be used. Elk and buffalo they shoot little and rarely, as the hides are too heavy and of little value, and if they shoot one of these animals now and again, most of the meat is left lying in the woods, where it is consumed by wolves, or other wild animals or birds. The deer, which are most sought and are larger than the European roe, have the best skins and are most valued by the Europeans. After the New Year they devote themselves to the catching of the beaver, the raccoon, the fox and other fur-yielding animals; they also hunt the bear, at that time very fat, as a rule, and hibernating in dens, hollow trees or rocks or thickets and eating nothing for two or three months except that they suck their paws and are nourished by the fat they have acquired in the fall from consuming acorns, chestnuts, various other nuts, etc. Hunting of this nature lasts until spring, when in May their time for planting begins. In February sugar-boiling begins, farther north in March.[8] This is the work of the women, the men continuing the chase. When planting time is past, the summer chase begins at the end of June or the beginning of July, when the deer take on a reddish hue and the pelts are again good and fit for trade. The deer change their color twice in the E 221 224

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910

NM7 Delaware

Eastern Woodland Indians NM4

221 year. After spring-time they become red and the hair is thin. In September they turn gray or fallow, when their color is like that
224 of the trees in the woods. The fur becomes very thick, being the winter coat. Farther north the game is larger; farther south it is smaller. In the region of Onondago[9] and at the lakes the deer are considerably larger than here along the Muskingum, and in the country of the Shawanose, about two hundred miles from here,[9a] markedly smaller, which makes a difference in trade. The Indians who really devote themselves to the chase, and this is the principal occupation and business of the savages, are at home but a small part of the year, spending most of the time in the forest. Those, on the other hand, who come to Christ and join the church, turn to agriculture and raising stock, keeping cattle, hogs and fowls. They, also, go on the chase for three or four weeks in the fall, though never far from home, in order that they may be able to use the meat; they secure their clothing in exchange for the skins.

231 Because the savages are accustomed to go about in the forest, which is their greatest delight, they do not care to keep cattle, for in that case they must remain at home to look after it and are prevented from going into the forest. Some have secured cattle, for they are very fond of milk[10] and butter.

252 Food which they prepare must be well cooked and well done; they do not like anything rare or raw. Meat and even fish must be so thoroughly cooked that they fall apart.

224 Concerning the chase in general, as engaged in by the Indians, it should yet be noticed that, because there is considerable trade in skins, deer are killed mainly for their hides and only so much of the flesh is used as the Indians can consume while on the chase, wherefore, most of the meat is left in the woods for the wild animals, which the wolves, especially, seem to know, for these animals take advantage of the hunting season and move in the direction of much shooting; they follow the report of the guns and, when the huntsman has skinned the deer, consume the carcass. The Indians rarely shoot a wolf, the skin of this animal being of little value. As an Indian shoots from fifty to a hundred and fifty deer each fall, it can easily be appreciated that game must decrease.

Their dress is light; they do not hang much clothing upon 291 themselves. If an Indian has a Match-coat, that is a blanket of the smaller sort, a shirt and brich clout[11] and a pair of leggins, he thinks himself well dressed. In place of a blanket, those who are in comfortable circumstances and wish to be well dressed, wear a strowd, i. e., two yards of blue, red or black cloth which they throw lightly over themselves and arrange much as they would a Match-coat. Trousers they do not wear; but their hose, reaching considerably above the knee and held together by a piece of strowd and extending only to the feet, to some extent supply the place of trousers. If they desire to go in state, they wear such hose with a silken stripe extending from top to bottom and bordered with white coral. Their shoes are made of deer skin, which they prepare themselves, the women being particularly skilled in doing this and in working all manner of designs; Mingoe women excel all others in this particular. Some wear hats or caps secured in trading with the whites; others do not cover themselves but go bare-headed.

Women are distinguished in dress only in this respect, that instead of a coat, they wear a strowd over the hips bound about the body next the skin, removed neither day nor night and ex- [302] tending but little beyond the knees. They anoint the hair liberally with bear's fat, so that it shines. Their adornment consists 301 in hanging much wampum, coral and silver about their necks and it is not unusual for them to have great belts of wampum depending from the neck. Their shirts and strowds they adorn with many silver buckles. It is also customary for them to sew red, yellow or black ribbon on their coats from top to bottom, being very fond of bright things.

Men as well as women wear silver bracelets, and the latter also arrange silver clasps in their hair or wear a band about the head with as many silver ornaments on it as it will hold. [439] All these things they secure from the whites, principally from traders who in times of peace bring their wares to the Indian towns to exchange for skins and pelts. In course of such occupation many traders have, in the event of Indian wars, lost all their goods and even their lives.

Eastern Woodland Indians NM4

422 In the matter of House-keeping and Domestic Arrangements, it seems to be established that what a man secures in the chase belongs to his wife; as soon as he brings skins and flesh home he no longer regards them as his own, but as property of his wives. On the other hand what the woman has gained in planting and harvesting is for the husband and she must provide for him everything that he needs in the chase. Yet I have observed that this is not invariably the case, for some men keep the skins, and buy for the women and children such clothes with them as they need and do not permit them to suffer want. Cattle belong to women, horses to men, though a man may give his wife a pony for her own.[12] Children, especially boys, are not held to work; the latter are to become hunters. 857 They are allowed their own way, their elders saying: 868 "We did not work ourselves in the days of our youth." They follow their own inclinations, do what they like and no one prevents them, except [861] it be that they do harm to others; but even in that case they are not punished, being only reproved with gentle words. Parents had rather make good the damage than punish the children, for the reason that they think the children might remember it against them and avenge themselves when they have attained to maturity. Girls are rather more accustomed to work by their mothers, for as the women must pound all the corn in a stamping trough or mortar, they train their daughters in this and also in such other work as will be expected of them, as cooking, bread-making, planting, making of carrying-girdles and bags, the former used to carry provisions and utensils on their backs [283] while journeying and the latter to hold the provisions. Both are made of wild hemp[13] which they gather in the fall and use for various purposes, for mending of shoes and making the thread with which they sew amongst the rest. Wild hemp is much tougher than that cultivated by the whites. In the matter of cleanliness, too much must not be expected among the Indians. 264 The brass kettles in which they cook, the dishes which they make of the growths and knots of trees, and also their spoons, which 515 are usually very large, are rarely washed, so that it is not very tempting for a European, unaccustomed to this, to eat with them. Yet in this respect, also, one finds differences, for some are as cleanly as one could expect it.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910

NM7 Delaware NM7

Eastern Woodland Indians NM4

Iroquois NM9

are as cleanly as one could expect it. The Monsys[14] and the Mingoes, however, far excel the Delawares in uncleanliness, and, since the dogs are constantly in the houses or lying about the fires, there are generally many fleas and other insects. 000 D 515

Their britchen,[15] made of boards and arranged about the fire, serve as table, bench and bedstead. The underbedding upon which they lie, is either an untanned deer or bear skin or a mat of rushes, which grow in ponds or stagnant water; these the women are clever enough to decorate in red, black or other colors, finding the materials for the latter in the forest. These mats they also fasten about the walls of their lodges, keeping out the cold of winter as well as for ornamentation. Blankets worn during the day as part of the clothing serve at night as covering. E 352 513

Boys and girls sleep apart. As soon as girls walk a little frock is fastened about them in order that they may accustom themselves to wear their clothing in a modest manner, the garments of the women being short, for the reason that long gowns would seriously inconvenience them in their movements through the forests. In this particular the boys are neglected, wearing little or nothing until at the age of five or six years, when a flap of cloth is fastened to a leathern band or girdle that has been worn from early in infancy in order that they might become accustomed to it. E 291 831 [513]

Houses of the Indians were formerly only huts and for the most part remain such humble structures, particularly in regions far removed from the habitation of whites. These huts are built either of bast (tree-bark peeled off in the summer) or the walls are made of boards covered with bast. They are low structures. Fire is made in the middle of the hut under an opening whence the smoke escapes. Among the Mingoes and the Six Nations[16] one rarely sees houses other than such huts built entirely of bast, which, however, are frequently very long, having at least from two to four fire-places; as many families inhabiting such a house as there are fire-places, the families being related. Among the Delawares each family prefers to have its own house, hence they are small. The Mingoes make a rounded, E 342 D I 342

3;Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910

NM7 Delaware NM7

Iroquois NM9

Eastern Woodland Indians NM4

I D 342 arched roof, the Delawares on the contrary, a high pitched, peaked roof. The latter, coming much in contact with the whites, as they do not live more than a hundred miles from Pittsburg, have learned to build block houses or have hired whites to build them. Christian Indians generally build proper and comfortable houses and the savages who seek to follow their example in work and household arrangement learn much from them,.

E 461 The North American Indians, whom I wish now to describe as well as I have learned to know them, are by nature (I speak of savages) lazy as far as work is concerned. If they are at home and not engaged in the chase they lie all day on their britchen and sleep; when night comes they go to the dance or wander about in disorderly fashion. The old men work a little, chopping wood or doing other things about the house, but the younger do nothing unless driven by dire necessity to build a hut or house or the like. Whatever time is not devoted to sleep is given to amusements, such as ball playing, which they have learned from the whites, as also cards. A game with dice they have themselves invented. The dice are made of the pits of wild plums, not cubical but oval shaped and smooth, black on one side and yellow on the other. These they each in turn raise in a wooden vessel and throw forcibly to the ground, occupying whole days in this way and accompanying their plays with much noisy ejaculation. Dances take place every night, all young people, men and women, attending. The dancing takes place either in a large house or in the open about the fire.[11] The men lead in the dance, the women closing the circle. Such is the exultant shouting on these occasions that it can be heard two or three miles away. The dance usually lasts until midnight, though there are intervals of rest. The drum which keeps the time is a thin deer-skin stretched across a barrel, or, in lieu of this, a kettle.

E 525 517 E 535 517

E 181 They are proud and haughty, even a miserable Indian, capable in no respect, imagines himself to be a great lord.[12] They hold themselves in high regard as if they were capable of great and wonderful things, in which respect they are much encouraged by dreams, held among them to be very significant and,

3: Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware
Eastern Woodland Indians NM4
Huron NG5

indeed, it would appear that through dreams Satan holds the heathen bound and fettered and in close connection with himself, subjecting them in this fashion to delusion. All this the missionaries discover in those who come to the church and who need be thoroughly humbled before they give up the vain imaginations concerning themselves. E 181

They are masters in the art of deceit and at the same time are very credulous; they are given over to cheating and stealing, and are not put to shame when caught. Stealing is very common among them. They will steal and sell each other's horses; and, though a thief be caught, little is done to him beyond taking his rifle. This he hardly refuses to give up, since another can be secured for some other horse that he may steal.

They are capable of hiding their anger readily, but await an opportunity to avenge themselves on the person by whom they think themselves to have been injured, and this generally occurs secretly and quietly. If, however, one of them expresses himself in harsh threats towards anyone who has injured him, go-betweens are chosen who seek to establish peace between the two, the same being usually effected by means of a belt of several fathoms[19] of wampum, furnished by the one who has been threatened.

They are courageous where no danger is to be found, but in the face of danger or resistance they are fearful and the worst cowards.[20] Hence, in wartime they prefer to attack defenceless whites on plantations, women and children, when they least expect it. Against them they show their heroic courage. They can be very friendly to a white man, give him to eat and act as if they had nothing evil in mind against him and then drive the hatchet into his head, of which I will give you a few examples. In the last Indian war, about the year 1763,[21] when it seemed as if the war were at an end and peace ruled once more in the Indian country but broke out anew so suddenly that the whites knew nothing of it, a large party of traders, with much merchandise, went to the Wiandots. These met them and, seeing that the traders were too strong for them, sought by deception to get them into their power, telling them, therefore, that a strong detachment of Tawas[22] was on the move to destroy them. H 648

3;Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910

NM7 Delaware

Huron N65

Iroquois NM9

Eastern Woodland Indians NM4

H 648. They, the Wiandots, would give them good counsel to the end that they might save their lives. They should submit as prisoners, suffer themselves to be bound, in order that when the Tawas should arrive they might see them already prisoners, in which case they would do them no injury. They themselves would harm them in no manner and surely accompany them to their towns with their merchandise. Their advice must be acted upon at once for the enemies were not far distant. The traders believed them, allowed themselves to be bound, even aiding their captors by binding each other. No sooner were they fettered than the Wiandots forthwith murdered them and secured rich booty.

I 648 Some years ago, before the present war[23] began, the Shawanose causing disturbance, some whites who had been living among them were obliged to save their lives by flight. One of the latter, hungry and weak, had separated himself from his companions and, in view of a Delaware town, fell into the hands of several Mingoes, who perceived at once that he was very weary and weak. They bade him sit down, gave him something to eat and after they had fed and refreshed him, killed him, all of which was witnessed by a Delaware woman, who afterward related the circumstance.

E 181 In studying the Indians, their mode of life and deportment toward each other, particularly the relations between the sexes, it is safe to say that one does not learn to know them well until they become concerned about the well-being of their souls and confess the evils that weigh on their consciences. One may be among them for several years and, not knowing them intimately, as stated, regard them as a virtuous people. Far from it. Impurity and immorality, even gross sensuality and unnatural vice flourish among them, according to the testimony of the Indians themselves, more than was the case formerly.[24] As they marry early in life, the men in the eighteenth or nineteenth year, the women in the fifteenth or sixteenth or even earlier, one would imagine that the Indians should increase rapidly and have many children. Yet an Indian may become old and have but few or no children, for family ties are only too frequently and easily broken on slight provocation, even when there are chil-

E 161 593

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware
Eastern Woodland Indians NM4

dren. Only as the parties advance in age and cannot so readily 161
form other connections, are matrimonial relations apt to be per- 593
manent. Owing to instability of family relationship, children
are often neglected. This does not argue that the Indians do not
love their children. As every creature loves its young, so the
Indians do love their children, are indeed, very fond of them,
especially as they mature and return the affection. But sin and
lust bring about unnatural conditions. It seems as if a curse
rested upon them and that they were destined to become extinct.
There is another clan of Indians who live with their wives be- [595]
cause they love their children, and at the same time have concu-
bines, who do not live in the house, because the rightful wife
will not suffer this. The latter will generally be content to remain
with her husband. I have known cases where an Indian would
have two wives in his house, but this is rare.

Yet there are Indians, even among the savages,[246] who main- 593
tain peaceable and orderly family life. Among them larger fam- 163
ilies are the rule, there being often from eight to twelve chil-
dren. The difference between these Indians and their fellows
may be easily appreciated.

The Indians have both capacity and skill for work, if they 152
only had the inclination. Such is their mental constitution that 151
they readily grasp and understand. Some who have been much
with whites have begun to work in iron, have fashioned hatchets,
axes, etc., right well, have given up the chase because they have
found regular work much more profitable and less hard on
clothing and shoes than wandering through the forest in pur-
suit of game. It is, however, true that in the forest they are a 823
wonderful people. They can go on a journey of many days in 151
the forest where there is neither path nor trail, without getting
lost. It is as if Nature had fixed the compass in their heads. No
European is equal to them in this respect. If they would go
anywhere and have determined on the journey, nothing prevents
the carrying out of their purpose. Though creeks and rivers
are often swollen and progress is difficult, they know what to do
when white men would be at their wit's end. In company of
Indians one may be sure not to be lost nor to suffer starvation.

E 484 On their journeys they are never in haste, for they are everywhere at home and whithersoever they wander they find sustenance in the forest. Therefore, if a white man travels with them it is wisest that he be content not to hasten but accommodate himself to their movements. In the morning they do not break camp early, not until they have eaten heartily, by which time the sun has usually been above the horizon two or three hours. Thereafter, they proceed very steadily until near sundown, E 343 when they go into camp. In rainy weather they peel bast from the trees and speedily build a hut, that is, a roof supported by four posts, under which they remain comfortably dry. This they do not only in summer but also in winter, at which time they know what trees to peel. In more northerly regions, as near Goschgosching[26] and the Mingoe country, where the snow is apt to be deep in winter, they go on snowshoes over the deepest snow. D 481 Here along the Muskingum, however, where the snow is never deep, this is not necessary; hence, in this means of locomotion the Delawares are not as skilled as the Mingoes. These snowshoes are like a heavy barrel-hoop, curved and very narrow in front, pointed behind and broad in the middle. This hoop is mostly interlaced with deerskin, something like a coarse sieve, so that the snow may not gather on it, but fall through. A little to the front of the middle there is a wooden crosspiece and a small opening upon which the foot is placed and bound with leathern thongs in such a fashion that the snowshoes seem to be dragged along behind on the snow. D 484 251 As to provisions for the journey, they take corn crushed to a meal or roasted in hot ashes, then crushed, with which they mix a little sugar; of this, in the heat of summer, a refreshing and at the same time, nourishing drink may be prepared, if a little is stirred in water. This mixture may also be boiled in water or eaten dry. These two kinds of meal are the usual provisions. Cornbread does not keep long, in the summertime, particularly, becoming unwholesome in three or four days. Meat they can procure anywhere in the forest, as game is always to be found. In the securing of it they lose little time, for when they contemplate pitching a camp, the Indians plunge into the woods and shoot a deer, a turkey-cock or something else.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware
Eastern Woodland Indians NM4

If they wish to proceed by water, or having been hunting, are anxious to return home heavily laden with meat and skins, 316 they speedily make a canow [canoe] of bast, load it with their things and go whither they will. These canows are fashioned of one piece of bast, the outer side of which is turned inward, both ends sharply pointed and securely sewn with bast, the inside being stretched out by a ribbing of bent wooden rods, which keeps the canow in its proper form. These canows are so light upon the water that they easily glide away from under the feet of one unaccustomed to them when attempting to stand. Capsize they cannot, because they are very broad and carry heavy burdens. To make one they choose a tree according to the size of canow desired and peel the bark off carefully so that there may be no rent. If a canow gets out of repair or is punctured by wood that floats in the water, or stones, the latter frequently the case because they are thin, the Indians know how to repair it by securing a patch of bast over any opening. Besides, there is a kind of elm-wood bast which they crush or pound fine and which is of a sticky consistency, serving them in place of tar, to keep their canows water-tight so that they do not leak. Even so, a canow barely lasts more than a year.[28] At one time they were more used than is the case now, when they use them only occasionally, as necessity may dictate; for since they have hatchet, axe and other tools they make canows hewn out of trees, using fire also to burn out the trunks.

Indians are not less, rather more, subject to disease than 147 Europeans, their rough manner of life and the hardships of travel and the chase being contributing causes. On journeys they mind neither water nor snow nor ice, even though creeks and rivers be ever so full of running ice they go through and nothing holds them up. On the chase they not only steal through the woods to get, unnoticed, near the game, but also pursue it should it run before them, until they get within range, thus often tiring the deer they may have chased from morn till eve and then at the end of the day shooting one after another, sometimes eight or ten miles away from their hunting lodge, no food having been tasted the entire day. So long as they are young and strong,

Eastern Woodland Indians NM4

147 they suffer no ill effects, but with advancing years, the inevitable results are felt. Rheumatism is common among them,[27] often 164 leading to lameness, deafness or blindness. The women who carry everything by means of a carrying girth fixed to the fore- 482 head, whence the whole burden — and a hundred weight is not considered heavy — is suspended down the back, suffer in back and neck as they grow older. The men carry everything hung to a carrying girth fixed across the chest. A deer weighing from a hundred to a hundred and thirty pounds they will carry the entire way home before allowing themselves to rest.[28]

These carrying girths are made by the women of wild hemp which is first spun. That part of these girths which passes across the breast and over the shoulders is three fingers [inches] broad and decorated with various figures; from it depend long, plaited, durable bands, to which the burden is bound.

164 They are subject to festering sores. Cured in one place, they break out in another.[29] Chills and fever, dysentery, hemorrhage, and bloody flux in women are very common among them. Venereal diseases have during the last years spread more and more, due, doubtless, to their disorderly life.

757 Care and attention for the sick amount to but little, the Indians being poor nurses. So long as they can go out they lie on the hard bed of boards; no longer able to do this they are laid on the ground near the fire, possibly upon grass or hay, a small hole in the ground under the patient serving as a bed- [262] pan. In time of sickness their diet consists of thin soup of pounded corn, without either butter, fat or salt. Not until a patient is convalescent is he allowed any meat.

There are Indians who have considerable knowledge of the virtue of roots and herbs,[30] learned from the fathers, and who bring about relief. They are well paid for their services. Whoever is in possession of knowledge of this nature keeps it to himself, communicating it to no one. Only in old age or when death is near is the knowledge imparted to a child or friend, though even this does not always happen. If they give a dose, which, as, indeed, all roots and herbs used for medicinal purposes, they call *Beson*, i. e., medicine, and which consists commonly of quite a kettle full — for with them quantity signifies much and the decoction usually being weak is rarely an overdose 757 —none can see nor know of what roots and herbs it has been prepared, for they are pounded very fine. If one should know enough to help himself, being able to prepare *Beson*, and became ill, he will rarely treat himself, having the superstitious belief that what is prepared by himself will be of no benefit. Using what has been prepared by another, he believes, will bring relief.

Wounds and external injuries the Indians treat very successfully, 752 knowing what applications to make. In the curing of those suffering from snake-bite, they are particularly capable. For the bite of every variety of snake they have a special *Beson*.[31] For the treatment of internal affections, however, they lack both knowledge and skill.

The doctors among the Indians are nothing other than charlatans.[32] 756 Fancied skill and imagined ability to heal the sick are traced to dreams which these individuals may have had in their youth. To the dreams they appeal, for in them they have much faith. Thus one may in a dream see a fierce animal. Upon this he will ponder much, believing that it was not by chance but rather that it signifies a gift of special power, marking him out a favored man; or an Indian will seem to converse with him in a vision, saying: "I am lord over all and can do whatsoever I will; if you will offer sacrifice to me I will give you power to do great things and none shall be able to do you any injury." Older Indians, no longer fit for the chase, are particularly anxious to become medicine men, being able as such not only to maintain themselves but even to acquire wealth. Should one wish to be treated, payment must be ready, in value 755 from £20 to £30, as soon as the doctor enters the home. If the payment is insufficient it may be expected that there will be but little circumstance and ceremony, in which case treatment will hardly avail. The doctor has the patient laid before him on the ground in the house or in the open, breathes upon him; or, taking a potion prepared from herbs and roots, blows it into the face and over the body of the sick — for they fancy themselves capable of curing the sick by breathing upon them and persuade the Indians that they have this power; or he makes

755 horrible grimaces, tries to appear hideous and terrible and make such a noise with his howling that he can be heard in the whole town. Treatment of this kind takes many forms. Sometimes the doctor crawls into a sweating-oven, expressly built for the purpose, taking a sweat-bath while the patient lies without at the opening. Temperature within is kept up by continually adding hot stones. Continuing his awful howling, the doctor occasionally looks out at the patient, with horrid grimaces; he may also feel his pulse. All this done, he will declare either that the patient will soon be better or that he has been bewitched or that he must bring sacrifice to appease spirits who have been offended or make some other requirement. What the doctor says, must be done. If the sick recover, it is believed to be due to the treatment. In case there is no improvement another doctor is summoned. Not infrequently this is kept up until all the possessions of a family have been devoted to useless doctoring. The poor are treated by these doctors only when their friends contribute to make certain the payment for services. In all manner of cases, whether it be external injury or paralysis or internal disease, child-birth[33] or child complaint, these doctors are summoned. They rarely give any medicine but always go through their deceptive performances. There are Indians who think [754] little of such treatment and do not willingly summon a doctor, but they have the superstitious fear that a doctor might bring about their death if he were not consulted. An Indian, now a Christian, told me that once, while still a heathen, he had come to an Indian who was ill and who required of him that he should give him a doctor's treatment, promising a horse in payment. This Indian had never done such a thing, for he was no doctor, yet as the invalid insisted, he consented to do it and got the horse. This seems to indicate that any one may become a doctor who can conduct himself in a sufficiently mad fashion.

515 757 It is a custom of the Indians, even when they are tired or have caught cold, to go into a sweating oven several times a week. For this purpose every town has on its outskirts a sweating oven. It is built of timber and boards, covered completely with earth. They crawl in through a small opening, the latter being closed as soon as they have gone in. A fire is usually

built in front of the opening before they go in and hot stones E placed in the middle of the inclosed area. Not long after they 515 have entered, they are covered with perspiration, then they 757 crawl out and cool off, returning to repeat the same thing three or four times. Women have their own sweating ovens though they do not use them as commonly as do the men.[24]

Blood-letting and cupping are also in vogue among them. F For blood-letting they use flint or glass. Of either they break 757 off little fragments until a piece is secured that suits the purpose. This is fixed to a short stick, placed upon the artery and struck. In case of cupping, they open the skin with a knife, put a little calabash over the opening, burning birch-bast instead of a lamp.

The Delaware Nation, consisting of three tribes, the D Unamis,[25] Wunalachticos[26] and Monsys,[27] formerly lived in the 101 region about Philadelphia, also in Jersey about Trenton, Brunswick and Amboy. 131 The Unamis are the chief people of the nation; their language, differing but little from that of the Wunalachtico, is the most melodious. The Monsy tongue is quite different, even though the three grew out of one parent language. The last named tribe lived in Minnissing[28] along the Delaware, behind the Blue Mountains.

Among Indians belonging to the Moravian Congregation D on the Muskingum River there are some old people, who were 648 in Philadelphia when the first houses were built there. They are able to relate how peaceably and agreeably the whites and Indians dwelt together, as if they had been one people, being ever ready each to serve the other. Even among the savages there are old people, who tell the following, as I have heard it from various individuals.

Before the whites had come into the land, there had been D Indians who foretold that someone would come to them across 173 the great sea. This they had repeated on various occasions in the hearing of other Indians, at the last even indicating the day when this should come to pass, the event making good their words. How these Indians could have foretold it, no one professes to know, the only explanation offered being that there

173 must have been vision or revelation. They had repeatedly looked out over the sea, until at last a vessel was sighted, when they had immediately summoned the Indians and said: "See, here comes some one to us, concerning whose coming we have long ago told you; the gods are coming to visit us." They worshipped them, regarding them as deities. When the whites landed, they gave the Indians knives, hatchets, muskets and various other things they knew not how to use and, consequently, carefully put away. On occasion of feasts or sacrifices they suspended the knives and hatchets from their necks as ornaments and worshipped the various articles, bringing sacrifices to them. The muskets they did not use except on special days, when to satisfy curiosity a few shots were fired and then sacrifices offered them. When the whites, after lapse of considerable time came again and saw that the things they had given were worn about the neck, they gave the Indians instructions in the use of the knife, hatchet and musket.

In those early days the manner of living of the Indians was
very different from that of the present time, yet, though they
were wretchedly equipped and could barely supply their wants,
241 they succeeded in supporting life.[30] They planted corn, beans,
pumpkins, which they had at that time. Their hoe was a bone
from the shoulder blade of the deer, which is broad at one end
and very narrow at the other. With this bound to a stick they
worked the soil. A turtle-shell sharpened by means of a stone
and similarly attached to a stick, served much the same purpose.
[249] A kind of tobacco known as Brazilian tobacco, they also had;
to the present day this tobacco, which has but small leaves, is
called Indian tobacco.

412 Their knives were made of flint, not in the form of our
224 knives but shaped like arrow-heads, i. e., triangular, quite thin
and with the two larger sides sharp. With such knives they
stripped off the skin of deer and other game.

412 Their hatchets, also made of stone and about the length of a hand, smoothed and sharpened, were secured to a wooden handle. These were not used for splitting wood but only to kill trees, as no more is necessary than to chop through the bark, if this is done at the right time, or to peel off bast for covering

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

412

their huts. Trees were killed wherever they wished to have space for planting.

For the chase they used bow and arrow, both made of wood, 224 the point of the arrow alone being of flint in the shape of a lengthened triangle, sharp and pointed, securely tied to the shaft.

Kettles and pots for cooking they made of clay mixed with 323 sea shells, pounded very fine. After the pot had been shaped it was burned hard in fire. All these things, knives, hatchets, arrows and large pieces of the pottery they used at one time, are frequently found in places where Indians have lived. Potsherds have become black through and through so that the shell pieces may be seen.

They could shoot game as well in those days as at the present time with their rifled guns. They declare that game was 224 not as shy then as now by reason of the report of the guns. In those days they killed only as much of game as was needed for sustenance, skins being used for clothing both men and 291 women; hence, game was more abundant at that time. The women made blankets of turkey-feathers which were bound [237] together with twine made of wild hemp. Of such many are to be found even at the present day among the Indians, and these in winter are a better protection against the cold than the best European blanket. The women also made themselves petticoats of wild hemp.

Bow and arrow have fallen into disuse among those Indians 224 that trade with whites; are, indeed, only used for small game, such as the pigeon, fox and raccoon, in order to save powder. There are, however, whole tribes to the west and northwest that use nothing but bow and arrow in the chase and that have no European weapons, that are not even anxious to obtain them; for, say they, if we discard bow and arrow, who will then make for us enough of powder and shot. They prefer, therefore, to hold to their old custom and usage.

The fire materials of those days consisted of a dry piece 372 of wood or board and a round dry stick. The latter was placed upon the board and turned or twirled with great swiftness, both hands being used, until there was smoke and fire. This, however, was done only in case their fire had gone out, which they

were generally careful to keep burning. On journeys they
372 were accustomed to carry fire with them from one lodging-place
[484] to another, for which purpose they used a certain kind of
fungus,[40] that grows upon trees. With such a glowing piece of
fungus they could travel from morning to evening. This custom
has to the present day not ceased among the Indians, nor has
the method of making fire described above, some still employing it
on special occasions and in connection with their sacrifices, in
order to remind themselves of former customs and usages. Fire-
313 wood they did not split in former days nor could they have done
so with their hatchets of stone. They burned it into pieces of
such length that could be carried home. They built a fire against
the trunks of standing trees and kept it burning until they
fell, which method still obtains among them, especially the older
ones, for whom it is difficult to fell trees and split wood and who,
perhaps, do not even own a hatchet. These may not burn a
piece of split wood during a whole winter, but provide fuel for
themselves in the manner described, which is quite easy and convenient
for them.

Canows made of wood as well as bast, they also had
396 in earlier days, fashioning the former out of a whole tree
trunk, which they burned out and only used their hatchets to
chop off glowing coals, lest they should burn in deeper in one place
than another or even burn a hole through.

342 Their dwellings were huts of bark, which they lined with
rushes in order to keep out the cold, roofed they were with
bark, even as is the case now, though sometimes rushes or long,
dry reed-grass served the purpose.

Underground dwellings there were, also, of which here and
there traces may be found, particularly along the Muskingum,
in which region one may yet see many places, where embankments,
still to be seen, were thrown up around a whole town.[41]
Here and there, furthermore, near the sites of such towns there
361 are mounds, not natural, but made by the hand of man, for in
726 those days the natives carried on great wars with one another,
Indians being formerly, according to their own testimony, far
more numerous than at the present time. At the top of these
mounds there was a hollow place, to which the Indians brought

their wives and children when the enemies approached and attacked them, the men ranging themselves round the mound for 726 [361]
defensive action. Their weapons were the bow and arrow and a wooden club, this last a piece of wood of not quite arm's length, [411
having at the end a round knob about the size of a small child's head and made of very hard wood. 713] Shields they bore made of hardened buffalo leather and presenting a convex surface without, while being hollow within. The curved outer surface they held toward the enemy and before their own breasts and faces in order that arrows discharged at them, striking the curved surface, would glance off and go to the side. With the left hand they held both shield and bow and with the right they drew the bow and held the arrow. On the above named hills they always had great blocks lying all about, in order that should the enemies attempt to storm the heights these might be rolled upon and among them so as to keep them off. In such attacks both sides usually lost many men, which were often buried in one pit and a great mound of earth raised above them, such as may even now be seen bearing in these days great and mighty trees."[8]

Dogs they likewise possessed in former days, of a kind still 231
to be found in considerable numbers among them. These may be readily distinguished from European dogs, which are now most commonly found among the Indians, especially the Delawares. The ears of Indian dogs rise rigidly from the head and the animals have something of a wolfish nature, for they show their teeth immediately when roused. They will never attack a wolf in the forest, though set on to do so, in this respect, also differing from European dogs. Of their origin their masters can give as little information as of that of the Indians themselves.

The wampum strings of the Indians were formerly made of 436
bits of wood, some white, some black, which were used in connection with embassies and speeches. Belts of wampum were also made. Some few were made of mussel-shells, which were held in the same value among them as gold among the Europeans, for much time was consumed in making even one such string of wampum. When whites came into the country these contrived to make wampum strings which they bartered to the Indians, who used them in place of their wooden wampum, as

436 is even now the case, though they are not accounted as valuable as at one time. Formerly they sometimes used in the place of the belts the wing of some large bird, which is still done among the nations living in remoter regions, where wampum is rare or not to be had at all, where there is no trade with Europeans and some have not even seen wampum. Occasionally, though not often, embassies from such distant people come to the Delawares.[43]

A belt is given in confirmation of a message or speech, as
211 they know nothing of writing; an answer given is similarly rati-
212 fied by a belt of the same size. An alliance or league is hardly
648 arranged by two peoples with less than twenty belts of wampum.
Often thirty or more are required.

175 As I have digressed from the main matter, viz., the character and nature of the land, I must yet in passing notice how it came about that the Delawares, who had lived near the sea and along the Delaware River, came to Alleghene,[44] where they were strangers and had no claim to the land. Some eighty years ago, more or less, the whites being already in the country and many of the Delawares having moved far up the Delaware River, a party of these Indians, with the cousin of a chief as captain, went on a hunt. They were attacked by Cherokees, at that time dwelling along the Allegheny and its branches, and some of them were killed, the captain, a cousin of the chief, among the rest. The survivors fled to their homes, related to the chief what had happened and suggested that he give them more men in order that they might avenge themselves on their enemies. The chief, however, put them off and did not let them go, even though he sorrowed over the loss they had suffered. After the lapse of a year the chief sent out several hundred men to avenge themselves on the Cherokees (the Delawares at that time already having European arms). When they arrived at the enemies' first towns along the Allegheny, they found no one, for all had fled at the news of the Delawares' approach. The latter pursued, the Cherokees constantly retreating until they were overtaken at the great island[45] at the fork where Pittsburg is now situated. Perceiving that the Delawares were strong in num-

bers, they had no heart to fight, though they stood ready with bow and arrow in hand; instead, their chiefs called to the Delawares to rest their arms and not fight. Afterwards they had an interview with the Delawares and surrendered themselves as prisoners. About half of them, however, dissatisfied with the capitulation, refused to surrender and escaped during the night, going down the river to the mouth of another river, now named the Cherokee River,[40] where they landed and afterward settled along this stream, in the region in which they still live. After the Delawares had finished with the Cherokees, the Six Nations arrived, having heard of the expedition of the Delawares. When they realized that the Delawares were masters of the situation, they professed satisfaction and said that they had come to assist them, but recognized that their aid was not now needed. Thereupon the Delawares gave them some of their prisoners as a present for their trouble and suffered them to go to their homes. Then the Delawares remained a long time at the Beaver Creek, to which they gave its name, in view of the animals that there abounded. After that the Delawares turned their faces homeward but soon returned, and since that time this region has been inhabited by Delawares and year by year more have come. Later the Wiondats, in connection with a solemn council, recognized the claim they made to the territory, inasmuch as they had conquered it. All this land and region, stretching as far as the creeks and waters that flow into the Alleghene the Delawares call Alligewinenk, which means, "a land into which they came from distant parts." The river itself, however, is called Alligewi Sipo. The whites have made Alleghene out of this, the Six Nations calling the river the Ohio.

The Cherokees were very powerful but had no friends among the nations; on the contrary, the Six Nations and the Wiondats waged war against them, though the Delawares made no further expeditions against them. Once it occurred that the Cherokees, pursuing the Six Nations who had done them some injury, came up to some Delaware towns and killed several of that people. This provoked a war between the Delawares and Cherokees that lasted until 1766 or 1767, when the Cherokees

175 sought the friendship of the Delawares, who had done them much harm, even to the extent of going into their towns and killing a number of people. Hence, they made peace and the Cherokees recognized the Delawares as their grandfathers. Through intervention of the Delawares the Cherokees secured peace also with the Six Nations and others, which was established in 1768,[46½] when the mission of the Brethren was begun at Goschgosching.

With the Delawares the Six Nations carried on long wars before the coming of the white man, and even after the advent of the pale-face, but the former were always too powerful for the Six Nations. The latter were convinced that if they continued the wars, their total extirpation would be inevitable. The Six Nations indeed boast that they had overcome the Delawares but these will not grant it, stating that as the Six Nations recognized the superior strength of the Delawares they thought of a means of saving their honor and making peace so that it might not seem that they had been conquered by the Delawares.

Soon after Pennsylvania had been settled by the whites, the Six Nations sent an embassy to the Delawares, opened negotiations and said:[47] It is not profitable that all the nations should be at war with each other, for this would at length ruin the whole Indian race. They had, therefore, contrived a remedy by which this evil might be prevented while there was yet opportunity to do so: One nation should be the woman. She should be placed in the midst, while the other nations, who make war, should be the man and live around the woman. No one should touch or hurt the woman, and if any one did so, they would immediately say to him, "Why do you beat the woman?" Then all the men should fall upon him who has beaten her. The woman should not go to war but endeavor to keep the peace with all. Therefore, if the men that surround her should beat each other and the war be carried on with violence, the woman should have the right of addressing them, "Ye men, what are ye about; why do ye beat each other? We are almost afraid. Consider that your wives and children must perish unless you desist. Do you mean to destroy yourselves from the face of the earth?" The men should then hear and obey the woman. Ever since then the Six Nations have called the Delawares their cousins, i. e., sister's children, and declared them to be the woman, dressed them in a woman's long habit, reaching down to the feet, though Indian women wear only short garments that reach but little below the knee, and fastened this about their bodies with a great, large belt of wampum. They adorned them with ear-rings, such as their women were accustomed to wear. Further, they hung a calabash filled with oil and beson [medicine] on their arms, therewith to anoint themselves and other nations. They also gave them a corn-pestle and a hoe. Each of these points was confirmed by delivering a belt of wampum and the whole ceremony observed with the greatest solemnity. One must not, however, think they actually dressed them in women's garments and placed corn-pestle and hoe in their hands. It is to be understood in the same way as when the chiefs among the Indians lay out a trail several hundred miles through the woods, they cut away thorn and thicket, clear trees, rocks and stones out of the way, cut through the hills, level up the track and strew it with white sand, so that they may easily go from one nation to another; but when one goes the way that has thus been cleared it is found to be full of wood and rocks and stones and all overgrown with thorns and thicket. The woman's garment signified that they should not engage in war, for the Delawares were great and brave warriors, feared by the other nations; the corn-pestle and hoe that they should engage in agriculture. The calabash[48] with oil was to be used to cleanse the ears of the other nations, that they might attend to good and not to evil counsel. With the medicine or beson they were to heal those who were walking in foolish ways that they might come to their senses and incline their hearts to peace.

The Delaware nation is thus looked to for the preservation of peace and entrusted with the charge of the great belt of peace and the chain of friendship which they must take care to preserve inviolate and which they bear on their shoulders at its middle, the other nations and the Europeans holding the ends.

Thus it was brought about that the Delawares should be the cousins of the Six Nations and were made by them to be the women. Such a state of things was preserved until 1755, when a war broke out between the Indians and the white people into

175 which the Delawares were enticed by the Six Nations. The woman's dress of the Delaware nation was shortened so as to reach only to the knees and a hatchet was given into their hands for defense. More than this, on the occasion of a council held during the same war, near Pittsburg, the Six Nations proposed to take the woman's dress away altogether and clothe them with the breech-clout, saying they could well see that the dress was a hindrance, inasmuch as the Delawares did not enter heartily into the war, being well aware that the Six Nations only sought their ruin. This, therefore, was not approved of by the Delawares, one of their chiefs rising to say to the Six Nations, "Why do you wish to rob the woman of her dress? I tell you that if you do, you will find creatures in it that are ready to bite you."

175 648 The Six Nations who had betrayed the Delawares into a war with the white people, at the last fell upon them themselves at the instigation of Sir William Johnson, taking many captives, especially of the Monsy [Monsey] tribe, whom they delivered over to Johnson, destroying and ravaging their towns on the Susquehanna and killing their cattle.[48½] The Delawares will not easily forget this piece of treachery and there is and remains a national hostility between these nations. In this present war the Delawares have done much to avenge themselves.

With the Mohicanders and Woapanose[49] the Six Nations also carried on wars for a long time; through the instrumentality of white people peace was eventually declared between them at Albanien.[50]

133 Concerning the country in which the Delawares formerly lived, viz., in Pennsylvania and Jersey, it is unnecessary to add anything, as these regions are well known. Along the Susquehanna, where our Indians lived, that is, at Friedenshütten,[51] the country is beautiful and the soil good along the river, but away from the river in the heart of the country it is very mountainous and of no use to the Indians except for the chase. Where the Indians would prepare land and plant, the soil must be of the best. In many cases where the Europeans would think it possible to have fine farms, the Indians would not look at the soil.

In this region^ they found deer, elk and bear hunting good, as also beaver, fox and raccoon in plenty. The Susquehanna is well stocked with fish. The chief fish are the Rock fish,[52] regarded as one of the best fish, having large scales and often weighing from ten to forty pounds; the Shad[53] or May-fish which in the spring of the year come up the rivers in great numbers, at which time they are caught by the hundreds and thousands with nets made of wild vines; the Yellow Perch,[54] as its name suggests of yellowish color, having sharp prickles along the back, a narrow head and sharp teeth like the pike,[55] which also abounds; the Horn-fish[56] with a long bill like that of a duck, only narrower, having very sharp teeth. This fish is not eaten by the Indians. Further, there are trout[57] in the creeks in great numbers in winter and spring, as also in the Susquehanna. There are large eels[58] and various smaller fish, such as Catfish, Sunfish and others.

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In the spring of the year 1765 two seals[59] were shot by the Indians at Wajomick. As the like had never been seen there before, these caused much astonishment among the Indians of that region. Many were summoned to witness the marvel. After they had sufficiently expressed their astonishment, a council was called to consider whether it would be proper to eat them or not. An old Indian arose and observed as God had sent them they could not but be good to eat, even though they had not seen such animals before. They, accordingly, prepared for a feast and all who were assembled partook of the seals and found them a palatable dish. These seals had unquestionably come from the sea and had come up the river several hundred miles.

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The region under consideration has this peculiarity above the country to the south that it has great swamps. A swamp is the name given to such a place where the sun never shines because of the dense thicket and which even in the middle of summer is always wet and cool. In such places the beech, white pine and spruce grow well. The Six Nations, to the north, are surrounded with such swamps. Hence, one must go a journey of many days through the wilderness before their

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^[i.e., along the Susquehanna.-Analyst]

Iroquois NM9

133 habitations can be reached and is obliged to climb over many
fallen trees. Near the home of the Six Nations there are also
many cedar swamps — not the red cedar but the white[60] — and
swamps of this sort are the wildest and darkest regions, home
[136 of the black bears, which the Mingoes — Indians belonging to
224] the Six Nations — catch in wooden traps. Otherwise, there is
in that region little or no game, save the beaver and fur-skinned
animals. A few moose are found, though those that are shot have
generally come from Canada.[61] Hence, the Mingoes, besides cultivating
226 the soil, mainly for growing corn — this being the work
of the women — subsist largely on fish, for fish may be caught
the year round.[62] Salmon are deemed the best and most valuable
fish in these parts. They have red spots like the trout. In
the autumn they go up the little creeks where they are easily
caught. I have found carrying two of them a good load. Salmon
fishing is carried on by the Indians through the whole
summer.

Besides this they catch eels[63] in the fall, which are a different
variety from those found in this region, the head being
small and sharply pointed. In the fall, when they go out of the
rivers into the lakes, they are caught in baskets by the thousand
in a single night. Dried, they may be kept a long time. They
[251] are so fat that when fried it is as though bacon were being
fried. In the matter of salt, Indians of that country do not suffer
[317] want, for there are in various places salt-springs which supply
them more abundantly than I have seen elsewhere.

All rivers and waters of that region empty into either Lake
133 Ontario, of which the St. Lawrence is the outlet, or into Lake
Erie, which pours into Lake Ontario after the waters have
leaped over the falls of Niagara. Upon both bodies of water
the English have large vessels bearing cannon which are deemed
a necessity for the defense of trade with the Indians.

As I have not seen the cataract,[64] though I have more than once heard it described by Indians who have seen it, yet could give no very accurate account of it not being able to measure its height, I will enter upon no description of the phenomenon, particularly, as correct description may be found in various books. As Indians who have been there relate, the waters

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware

Iroquois NM9

shoot out over a precipice so perpendicular that Indians find it possible to go hither and thither on the rocks under the water. Fish that plunge over the falls are killed. Wild geese, ducks and other birds that come too near the cataract in their flight are, through air currents started by the stream, drawn into the waters to their destruction. Hence, the Indians may always find good food there. Some Mingoes fishing above the falls on one occasion were dragged into the current. All their exertions to reach the shore were in vain. As they drew helplessly near the cataract they threw everything away, seated themselves, drew their blankets over their heads and plunged into the abyss. Others on shore watched them, but were unable to render any aid. Two others narrowly escaped the same fate. Seized by the swift current, they succeeded in working their way toward the island,[65] which is a mass of rocks bearing bushes and a few trees on the verge line of the falls, a considerable distance from either shore; nearing the island they both sprang out of the canoe into the water, one of them managing to catch hold of a little tree that hung down into the water, the other seizing the legs of the first. Having safely drawn themselves up on the rock, they spent four days and nights there, unable to make those whom they could see on shore hear their cries because of the roar of the waters. At last they were seen. The French, at that time in possession of Canada and, therefore, also of Niagara, did their utmost to save them, letting themselves float down in a canoe to the island for this purpose. Working back from the island they kept the canoe pointed toward it, in order that should they be unable to make headway against the stream it might have been possible to reach the island again. The shore was reached in safety. 133

Their canoes are made of birch bark, many small pieces being sewed together with exceeding neatness. Being very light they are often carried many miles across the country. In them they cross the Lakes, and as they are so light, less water is dashed into them by the waves than would be the case with a European boat. 501

There are various smaller lakes in this country. Oneider[66] Lake is thirty-two miles long and eight miles broad. Cayuger[67] Lake is about the same size. In the Sennecker country I saw 133

133 several that are larger than either of the two named.[68] Inasmuch
as the Mingoes do not change their place of residence as
[361] the Delawares are accustomed to do, who never remain many
years in one place, one sees orchards of large, old apple trees
131 near all their towns.[69] The Six Nations lived in these parts long
before the advent of the whites. About the year 1600 the French
waged many wars with them, at the last making peace. They
live in about a straight line from east to west. The easternmost
are the Mohoks,[70] few in number, who live for the most part
among white people. Next to these live the Oneider and Tuscarores.
The Onondager occupy the middle, where the great
council is held, to which representatives come from all places.
Further to the west is the dwelling place of the Cayugers and beyond
them are the Senneckers, the westernmost. Wiondats or
Hurons, who live partly in Sandusky, at the western end of Lake
Erie, and partly in Detroit, are not counted in with the Six
Nations, though they are allied with them. Their language
bears greatest resemblance to that of the Mingoes.

648 Last year, 1779, the Six Nations were driven out of their
land by the Americans and all their towns and settlements were
destroyed, a fate they had never before experienced.[71] Winter
[132] in that region is usually very severe and the snow very deep, as
a rule. The soil is rich and fertile. Indians there plant a different
241 variety of corn from that used here. It ripens earlier.
The kind planted here along the Muskingum would not mature
in those parts.[72]

721 The Six Nations have ever been a war-like people, unable
to preserve peace. There are few nations with whom they have
not at some time had war. It is not too much for them to travel
in parties five or six hundred miles into an enemy's country, to
hide then in the woods for many days, even weeks, that they
may catch hostile braves, though they must, in so doing, suffer
hunger, not being able to shoot any game lest they be betrayed.
When a deed planned has been accomplished they hurry away.
If they can bring back a captive or a scalp they regard them-
[727] selves as amply rewarded for all weariness and need they have
suffered and danger to which they have been exposed. Had
they not, with the captives taken, replaced those of their own

3: Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910

NM7 Delaware NM7

IROQUOIS NM9

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numbers who had perished in the endless wars, they had, long ere 721 this, died out. As it is they have degenerated and are a very 727 different people from what they once were. As all the Indian nations treat their captives in much the same manner, I will refer to this matter elsewhere.

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Concerning the region in question, I merely wish to add 133 that it is well watered by rivers and lakes so that it is possible to get almost anywhere by water. In the matter of trade, this I is of great importance, though trade among the Six Nations 439 amounts to little, as they do not secure much by the chase. The nations dwelling beyond them engage much more in trade. Each I of the Six Nations has its language, the Cayuger and Sennecker 197 and particularly the Tuscarores, who came from Maryland[73] when they lived by the sea, speaking tongues very different from the rest. In the main, however, all these dialects form one speech and the Indians of the Six Nations are all able to understand one another. The language of the Delawares, on the D other hand, differs so much from that of the Six Nations, that 197 they cannot understand each other. It is much easier to acquire the language of the Mingoes than that of the Delawares.

The country of the Six Nations is not mountainous but I very level, so-called hills being of but little account. Indeed, 133 the hills and elevations partake of the swampy nature of the lowland, even on the heights one is in the same kind of dense thicket as in the valleys, in which the sun rarely reaches the ground.

Concerning the St. Lawrence River, it is yet to be noted that its navigation is considerable, even though there are many rapids, which render the unloading of boats necessary. From Quebeck light boats are used as far as Fontenac[74] at the eastern end of Lake Ontario, a distance of three hundred and eighty miles. Thence, cargo is taken in sloops across the lake to Niagara at the western end, a distance of two hundred and twenty miles. From this point it is taken nine miles across country to navigable water and thus it is carried through Lake Erie to Detroit, a further distance of two hundred miles.

From this digression I return again to the Alleghene or
133 Ohio Region. This is separated from Pennsylvania and the
other colonies by the Alleghene mountains. The most considerable mountains to be passed on the road (from the land of the Delawares) to Pittsburg are the Sidling Hill, the Alleghene Mountain and Laurel Hill.[75] In other directions there are more, since the mountain chains at times divide and receive different names in the different regions in which they lie, though they belong to the same system. In Pennsylvania they are called the Blue Ridge, viz., the Little and the Great Blue Ridge, the latter being also called the Wolf's Mountain, on account of the number of wolves which infest it; and in the country about Tulpehocken and Thürnstein[76] as is to be seen on the chart, and another name is Jacob's Height.[77] The Thürnstein belongs, therefore, to the Alleghene Mountains, as appears not only from its position but also from similarity in mass, breadth and height to the other parts of that range.

This mountain chain forms a boundary between this region
132 and that to the east even in the matter of weather conditions.
133 In Pennsylvania the east wind generally brings rain. This is
not the case in Ohio, where the east wind rarely blows and then hardly above twelve hours at a time. The south and west winds bring rain, and it even rains sometimes with a northwest wind. In Pennsylvania northwest wind brings clear and fine weather. All thunder storms rise either with the south, west or northwest winds and a land rain from the west sometimes continues for a week.

133 The Alleghene River rises in a swamp lying between it and the Susquehanna, about a hundred and fifty miles to the north of Pittsburg. About one hundred miles to the north of that place the Venango (in the Indian tongue *Onenge*) empties into it. This river is the passage to Presquisle,[78] Lake Erie and Niagara.[79] On the journey to these places there is a portage of fifteen miles. Formerly the French carried on considerable trade along this route and all their provisions were in this way brought to Fort du Quesne, now called Pittsburg, when this place was in their possession.

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At Pittsburg the Monongehella, which takes its rise in Virginia, enters into the river. In the Indian tongue the name of this river was Mechmenawungihilla, which signifies a high bank, which is ever washed out and therefore collapses. Ten miles up this river on Turtoise[80] Creek General Braddock was defeated by the French and Indians in 1755 and at Fort Sigonier,[81] fifty-four miles to the east of Pittsburg, at various times during those wars many people were killed by the Indians.

The Alleghene is a navigable river and as one says in English, "of gentle current." Large vessels may pass from Pittsburg down the Ohio to Illinoise and into the Mississippi, which is fifteen hundred miles, and to a French island, New Orleans, in the last named river. The Ohio empties into the Mississippi fourteen hundred miles below Pittsburg. Previous to this war, the east side of this river was already thickly settled, but since the Indians have massacred so many, most settlers have retreated. Further down, about six hundred miles from Pittsburg, also on the east bank of the river there is a large settlement of the whites on the Kentuke[82] River. These also suffered much from the Indians in the late war.

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Up to six or seven years ago the Delawares lived along the Alleghene, but after the Six Nations had sold a considerable portion on the eastern side of the river to the whites, they retreated to the Muskingum, where they now live. This stream rises near Cajahages[83] in a small lake, and the Cajahage River empties into Lake Erie only a short distance from its source.

When one thinks of the number of rivers and creeks that flow into the lakes, one ceases to wonder at the existence of the Great Lakes. Lake Huron, Michillimakinac, Michigan and Superior, which lie to the north of Detroit, all find an outlet in Lake Erie and this in turn in Lake Ontario, whence the St. Lawrence River rises. In all these lakes no current is observable, but their waters are clear and transparent, abounding in fish.

Traders have journeyed northward from Detroit through Lake Superior and beyond to the neighborhood of Hudson Bay in the interest of trade with the Indians. Such a journey usually takes a year.

3;Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

133 The Muskingum (meaning Elk's Eye, so called because of the numbers of elk that formerly fed on its banks, these animals being found there even at the present time) empties into the Ohio two hundred miles below Pittsburg. It is navigable for canoes or light boats, which the Indians use upon it, from its source to its mouth.

The country is diversified with hillocks and gentle risings, but no great mountains are to be seen to the west of the Alleghene Mountains. The Indians are, therefore, yet in the possession of the best land. Along the creeks and rivers the soil is very rich and commonly called "The Bottoms." This sort of
[311] land is chosen by the Indians for agricultural purposes not only because it is easily worked, but also because it yields aboundant crops for many years. When, however, their fields begin to
[241] grow grass they leave them and break new land, for they regard it as too troublesome to root out the grass. For winter crops such soil would be too rich and would yield little or nothing. But corn and all else raised by the Indians thrives in rich soil.

The higher lying land, generally of medium richness, though some of this also is extraordinarily fertile, is the best for winter grains, and as but little of it is stony soil it would be difficult to find a spot that could not be cultivated to advantage.

132 Concerning the climate, I can only speak from a twelve years' acquaintance with the country. In the summer it is quite warm, especially in July and August, which are the two hottest months; woolen garments can hardly be worn at this season of the year. The winter is generally very mild. The snow is never deep, nor does it remain long on the ground. Last winter, 1779-80, which was very severe in Pensilvania, snow fell once to a depth of two feet. In eight days this was gone, though the ground was covered with snow most of the time between New Year and February. As I have neither chart nor instrument, I am unable to say in what degree of latitude it lies, though I reckon it to be about the same as that of Philadelphia. A distance of a hundred English miles north or south makes a very perceptible difference in temperature; for in Sandusky on Lake Erie, it is much colder and the snow is much deeper than here in the Muskingum Valley and along the Scioto,[24] which empties into

the Ohio three hundred miles below Pittsburg, one hundred miles from here, snow hardly ever remains on the ground, and the ground is bare for most of the winter. In autumn and even up to Christmas and New Year or beyond that time, there is little frost, and even if in a clear night the ground should freeze, it thaws soon after sunrise. There are very few clear, beautiful days in the winter-time; much of the time it rains, occasionally it snows. After a few clear days a change may be looked for. If there has been quite a snow, rain may follow. Yet the Muskingum, not having a strong current, is frozen over when there are several cold nights in succession. Usually this happens once during the winter, rarely oftener. 132

The Indians make little provision to feed their cattle in winter, for as there is no deep snow and the weather is generally mild, cattle and particularly horses can forage for themselves, finding feed in the woods. In the bottoms grass never quite dies away but remains green toward the end of March and beginning of April grows again. [231]

Of wild fruits the strawberries,[85] much like those in Europe, are the first to ripen in spring. Blackberries,[86] raspberries,[87] bilberries,[88] are also found, though not native to these parts, for these varieties grow best on hills and in not too rich soil. Further, there are wild gooseberries[89] and currants,[90] the latter black in color and with a somewhat different taste from that of the red which are cultivated in gardens, though having the same sort of leaves. There are two varieties of cranberries;[91] one grows in swamps on low bushes not as high as the bilberry bushes, the other on small trees. For both the Indians have one name (Rakilun). Of the wild cherry, there are three kinds, not found in Europe at all, and having a very good taste. The one sort[92] grows on high thick trees, which are found in large numbers and yield a very fine red wood that is well suited for cabinet work. The other kinds[93] grow on bushes. On the islands in the Susquehanna, cherries[94] are found, very like the cultivated fruit, having about the same form and taste. The only difference is that they grow neither on trees nor bushes, but on vines, which lie on the ground and when lifted up appear laden with fruit. 137

137 These grow on very stony ground near the water, where the sunshine is particularly hot. In these parts I have not come across this variety.

[232 261] Besides, there are mulberries,[95] plums,[96] and wild grapes of three sorts, those growing on high ground[97] or hills being the best; those[98] found in the bottoms are very sour. Crabapples[99] grow in great plenty and the Indians, being very fond of sharp and sour fruit, eat them in abundance.

[252] Of nuts there are found: (1) The well known hazel nut,[100] (2) the hickory nut,[101] found in great plenty in some years and which the Indians gather in large quantities and use not only as they find them — they have a very sweet taste — but also extract from them a milky juice used in different foods and very nourishing. Sometimes they extract an oil by first roasting the nut in the shell under hot ashes and pounding them to a fine mash, which they boil in water. The oil swimming on the surface is skimmed off and preserved for cooking and other purposes. (3) The walnut of two varieties, the white walnut[102] deriving its name from the color of the wood which, strictly speaking, is gray, and the black walnut,[103] of which the wood is dark-brown, sometimes even shading into violet. The latter is very much used by cabinet makers for tables, chests and other things. The nuts, the one variety having a very hard shell, are eaten, but are very oily.

The papa[104] tree, which I have seen nowhere else than along the Ohio, bears a very beautiful fruit, in form and size resembling a middle sized cucumber, of an agreeable smell and taste.

[278 824] Wild laurel[105] is found in the bottoms in great abundance; the berries are smaller than those found elsewhere, but have about the same taste. Of these, even the whites make use. They grow on bushes, the wood of which has a strong spicy odor and taste, used by the Indians for medicine and called by the English, spicewood.[106]

[222 262] Chestnuts[107] are very plentiful in some years. The Indians gather them and prepare various dishes with them. A larger variety of chestnuts[108] is native to these parts, but these are not fit to eat.

Of roots, wild potatoes[109] and wild parsnips are found. 137
Bread is baked of both, which one may be driven to eat by 222
pangs of hunger. The Indians look for both roots when famine 262
threatens and the supply of corn runs low, sometimes sustaining life with them for a considerable period.

A kind of bean, called by the Indians earth-bean, because it grows close to the ground, is also found and tastes when boiled, like the chestnut.

Wild citrons[110] or May apples, grow on a stalk not over a foot high. The Indians enjoy eating the fruit, which has a sour but pleasant taste. The roots are a powerful poison which, who eats, dies in a few hours' time unless promptly given an emetic.

Watermelons and muskmelons, which grow by culture only, are very refreshing in summer. Of some watermelons the meat is yellow and the seeds black; of others the meat and seeds red.

The forests contain mainly oak trees; other kinds of trees 137
are, however, also found. They are not dense, but generally sufficiently open to allow comfortable passage on foot or horseback. There are five varieties of oak, white-oak,[110a] black-oak,[110b] red-oak,[110c] Spanish-oak,[110d] and swamp-oak.[100e] The red-oak has very narrow, small leaves and bears little colored acorns, such as I have seen nowhere else. Besides these, hickory trees of three sorts,[111] ash,[112] white and red beech,[113] sassafras,[114] in some places very thick, poplar[115] and chestnut[116] are the kinds generally found on high lying land. In the bottoms there are walnut, linden,[117] maple,[118] water-beech,[119] that grow near to the water and often attain great height and girth, hawthorne[120] and crab-apple.[121]

The Hoop-ash,[122] a little known tree and found only in this region, has this name because barral-hoops are made of the wood. It grows in the bottoms and is of little use otherwise, as the wood easily rots.

The Honey-locust[123] is likewise found in the bottoms. This tree but little resembles the locust of Pensilvanien, except that there is some similarity in foliage, though the leaves are smaller and finer. The trunks of the thickest trees are two feet in diameter on the average. The trunk is covered with thorns that stand straight out, are about six inches long and very sharp.

137 The wood is red, very hard and heavy and does not rot very quickly in the ground. It bears pods that fall off in the autumn. Besides the seeds, the pods contain a kind of molasses or honey, thus accounting for the name Europeans have given the tree. The Indians call it the thorn-tree on account of its many thorns.

Sugar trees are usually found in low, rich soil, sometimes, also, on higher land and in more northerly regions even on hills, where, however, the soil is very moist. The Delawares call this tree the *Achsunnamunschi,* that is, the stone-tree, on account of the hardness of the wood. The Mingoes give it a name signifying the sugar tree, as do the Europeans. From
222 the sap of the tree sugar is boiled. This is done by the Indians
252 in the early part of the year, beginning in February and continuing to the end of March or beginning of April, according as spring is early or late. In this region it is possible to boil sugar even in fall after there has been frost and in winter, if the season is mild. For as soon as the trees thaw a little the sap begins to run and then the trees are tapped. As, however, at that time of the year the weather is very uncertain and it is possible that there should be a cold wave at any time, it is hardly worth the effort to make the necessary arrangements and is hardly ever done, unless some one be driven of necessity to provide sugar for the household. This, we ourselves have been obliged to do and the sisters of our congregation have already boiled a quantity of sugar for congregational love-feasts, shortly before Christmas.

Spring is the proper season for boiling sugar. The following preparations are made. A number of small troughs are made for receiving the sap. Usually, the Indians make them
415 of wood, cutting them out roughly with a hatchet. Some Indians are able to make twenty or thirty of them in a day. Some do not go to so much trouble, but make dishes of the bark or bast of a tree, which serve quite as well, but are good for no more than one season. According as they have large or numerous kettles and troughs they can make much sugar, for there is no lack of trees. Besides the smaller troughs and dishes,

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there must be several of larger size in which the sap is collected. If one is well supplied with utensils, there is this advantage, that on days when the sap flows freely much may be collected, which will enable one to keep on boiling when the sap does not flow plentifully. The sap flows most plentifully when it freezes at night and the sun shines during the day. At night it commonly ceases to run. The same is true in case of warm or rainy weather. As soon as there has been frost the sap runs again. There is a time in the boiling season when sap once or twice begins to flow in considerable quantities, both day and night. When this occurs the height of the sugar season is on. The sap which flows after this is not so good and yields less sugar. The last sugar secured in the spring is always of inferior quality. Hence, toward the end of the season no sugar, but only molasses is in most cases boiled.

The length of the season is determined by the weather conditions. If spring is late and night frosts continue for a considerable time, the flowing season is the longer. With the early advent of warm weather the season terminates very quickly. The shortest season lasts about a month, the longest nearly two months.

The thickest of the trees are two feet, sometimes more, in diameter. Those of middle size, which are still young, have many branches and are growing, yield the most sap. Experience has shown that such a tree will yield about sixty gallons of sap while sugar is being boiled, and thereafter another sixty for molasses. Seven to eight gallons of sap are regarded as 252 necessary for a pound of sugar. Such a tree may, therefore, yield more than seven pounds of sugar and seven quarts of molasses. It has also been found that a tree which one year has yielded very freely, gives but little the next, and on the other hand, a tree that has yielded but little one season, gives largely the next. The sap, which is of a brownish color and becomes darker the longer it boils, is boiled until it gets to be of the consistency of molasses, is then poured off and kept. When a sufficient quantity of this consistency has been secured, it is boiled over a slow fire until it becomes sugar. It is important to boil

252 this over a slow fire, for the sap readily boils over and is easily burned. If the boiled sap is stirred until cold, the sugar becomes granulated and is as fine as the West Indian sugar. As the Indians lack the dishes and do not care to take the time to prepare it in this way, they usually form it into cakes, put it in a kettle or dish, or in default of these, on a stone and let it cool, when it becomes hard and may be easily preserved in baskets. If the troughs and kettles used for collecting the sap are made of wood that does not give color, the sugar becomes the finer, but if it gives color, as does the white walnut, the sugar becomes black the first year; thereafter, this is not the case.

When everything is prepared, an oblique incision is made
222 in the tree and at the lower end of the same a thin wedge, three
252 or four inches broad, is forced in, whence the sap runs down into the vessel placed below. According as the sap runs freely or contrarywise, the dishes must be emptied at given intervals, day and night. According to the manner of making the incision one may determine whether a tree shall be good for many or few years. If large openings are made the tree is soon spoiled and nothing is gained, for the sap runs no faster. In this matter, however, the Indians are very careless, for trees are numerous and after they have used one place for three or four years, they seek out another. There is, strange to say, no tree among all the rest so hardy as the sugar-tree, for even if the stem is cut all around, so that it can no longer be used, it does not die. Hence, the Indians very reluctantly make their fields where there are sugar-trees, as these are not to be exterminated, except they be cut down. This, however, is true that when trees have been used for eight or nine years they give less sap than formerly, as they are full of incisions and scars. An incision having been made in a tree in the spring of the year and the sap having flowed for some time, the incision needs to be enlarged, though only a little. This may be done two or three times in a season.

As the Indians have trees in abundance, their labors are
252 richly rewarded. For if a man owns a kettle of ten or twelve gallons and has a few smaller ones with which to keep the large one filled, it will be possible for him to make several

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hundred pounds of sugar in a season and a quantity of molasses, besides.

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Sugar boiling is chiefly the employment of women. Even widows are able to earn enough by it to secure clothing and whatever else they may need. While the women are thus engaged, the men hunt and supply meat. As the deer skins are of little value at that season of the year, they generally hunt bear, which they seek in the rocks, hollow trees or thickets in their winter quarters. Bears are at this time generally fat.

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Dog-wood[124] is also found in these parts. The rind of the root is used in the apothecary shops in place of Jesuit-Bark.[125] This tree grows to be neither large nor high.

Red Cedars[126] are found along the Muskingum finer and larger than I have seen elsewhere in North America. They do not grow on the mountains as in Pensilvanien, where they are stunted and scrubby, but in the bottoms.

The spruce tree[127] is neither a fir nor a pine, according to my view, but something between the two. In this region the tree is found only occasionally along the creeks and rivers. In more northerly districts, however, there are great spruce forests and swamps.

Pitch-pine[128] is rarely found here and white pine[129] not at all; a hundred miles to the south one may see many specimens of either variety. Fir-trees[130] I have seen near the source of the Ohio and pines[131] not far from Bethlehem, across the Blue Mountains in the great swamp.

Vines are very numerous, especially in the bottoms. They climb up the trees and look like anchor strands, often being thicker than these. The grapes they bear have a sour taste. Those which grow on the highlands and only have short, tender shoots, being frequently disturbed in their growth by brushfires, have the best grapes. These have a good taste. Experience has taught that good wine may be made of both kinds.

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The elm tree,[132] already noticed above, is of no particular use, for the wood rots quickly, except that the Mingoes make bast canoes and kettles for sugar boiling of the bark, which is very tough.

137 The bark of stone birch[183] trees, as of many others, the Indians pound fine, mix with water and use as a medicine. This 278 is the only variety of birch trees here. In Pensilvanien there are birch trees like those of Europe, though they do not grow to any size.

Aspen trees[184] are also found, though not in great numbers nor everywhere. One kind of tree is found here that I have seen nowhere else. The wood is soft and yellowish. The leaves are smooth and oval-shaped. The Indians call it *Wisewewinscki*, the yellow tree.[185]

317 Of oil wells I have seen three kinds, (1) wells that have an outlet; (2) wells that have no outlet, but are stagnant pools; (3) wells in creeks and even in the Ohio at two different points, one hundred and fifty miles from one another.

In the wells which have an outlet, oil and water together exude from the earth and where these flow grass and soil become oily. When there is no means of discharge one sees nothing more than oil welling up, which, if none has been taken off for some time, floats an inch or more in depth on the water. In the creeks it is possible to see some of the places where the oil flows, others not, for often the current carries the oil with it at such rate that you see the oil over all the surface of the water. In the Ohio there are, also, such places in the region of the oil wells. Here the current is very gentle and the Indians skim off the oil, though it is not easy to do this as the current, even though not swift, keeps carrying it along. Such places are usually revealed by the strong odor. Even though the water of a river keeps carrying away the oil, one may smell it at a distance of a quarter of a mile from the well. The soil near an oil well is poor, either a cold, clayey ground, or if it is near a creek, a poor quality of sand at the top. Neither good grass or wood will grow nearby, hardly anything more than a few stunted oak trees.

If the Indians wish to collect oil, which they prefer to do where the well has no discharge, as it is there most easily secured, they first throw away the old oil floating on top, as it has a stronger odor than that which wells up fresh from the earth.[186]

The odor is somewhat like that of tar, though not very much so. 317
They stir the water violently then let it settle and become clear. The more the pool is stirred the more abundantly does the oil flow. When it is clear they scoop it into kettles, and, as it is impossible to avoid getting some water, boil it and preserve it for use. They use it^as a medicine in all sorts of cases for external application, thus for tooth-ache, head-ache, swelling, rheumatism, strained joints. [278] Some also take it internally and it appears to have hurt no one in this way. Some, indeed, declare that the oil flows from the coal deposits, but this is not likely, for in the first place, there is no sign of pit coal to be seen in this region — one sees nothing more than poor sandstone and, in the second place, in other parts where there is much pit coal, as for example, along the Muskingum, no sign of oil is to be seen. Were the oil to be found there, the Indians would know of it, for they value it highly and have looked for it, but found none. Most probably it comes out of the earth. It is brownish in color and may be used in lamps, for it burns well.

Salt springs are to be found both along the Muskingum and 317
along the Ohio. 263
Of this salt the Indians make little use; they prefer to buy it from the whites, even though they have to pay a high price for it owing to the fact that it has to be brought a considerable distance from the seaports. Moreover, they use very little salt and seem not to require it. They often eat their food unsalted, even though they may have the salt, until they feel a longing for it.

These salt springs are usually to be found on the bank of 317
a creek or even in the middle of the creek on a sand-bank, the fresh water flowing on both sides. The Indians have on occasion boiled a considerable quantity of salt in a short time at such a well, so that it would appear worth the labor to get it, especially as it is so expensive.

There are, also, many salt licks to which cattle, horses and game go in large numbers. These are generally springs that have salt or saltpetre[107] in them.

The common sort of stones in this region along the Ohio 135
are the sandstones. Some are very hard, others soft. They

^ [i.e., crude oil.—Analyst]

135 are, for the most part, of a gray, fine sand and make as good whetstones as one might wish. Rocks you meet occasionally along the Ohio, but away from the river and here along the Muskingum very few, even most of, the mountains and hills are not rocky.

Pit-coal is found in abundance, but as there is no lack of wood it is little used and hardly thought of by the Indians. In Pittsburg the coal is used in fire-places and by blacksmiths.

[324] [276] A kind of stone, black in color, is found here, that is easily worked and cut. It has no sand in its composition and the Indians make tobacco pipes of it, some doing very neat work.

There is also a kind of stone, blue in color, which is very hard. It somewhat resembles the limestone of Pensilvanien, but examination has shown it to be different. Limestone has not yet been found in this region.

A mineralogist would find many more varieties to describe, to which I am unable to give even the names, especially along the shores of the river, where all kinds may be seen, green, yellow, blue, red and black. About ore I know little or nothing concerning this region. The Indians believed themselves to have found gold and silver, but what they produced as precious ore, because it resembled this somewhat, on the test and examination of whites was found to be sulphurous substance.[138] Whatever glitters, the Indians are apt to look upon at once as being gold or silver. 317

276 [439] The Cherokees, who through the years have had much intercourse with the Delawares, brought with them many tobacco pipes for trade. These they made of quite white stone, probably white marble.[139] When completed they blackened the pipes and in such a way that they retained their color. These pipes are made so neatly that they are no heavier than the European pipes.

From the Mississippi the Indians bring red marble, whenever they come from that direction. Of this pipes are also made. [293] Such pipes, however, are as a rule to be seen only in the possession of chiefs or captains, for not many of them are to be had. A pipe of this sort is generally used in council or on solemn occasions. This is carried about by the chief counsellor, each

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one present draws a few whiffs of smoke and this is called smoking the peace-pipe. 276

There are four kinds of clay. There is the white, which is almost like chalk and with which, when dry, one can write as with chalk.[140] Another variety is quite black. This, however, becomes quite white when burned. Besides these, gray and yellow clays are found. A sort of yellow earth, rather of an orange tinge is found, of which the Indians, especially the warriors, make a fine color by burning.[141] With this they paint themselves and they are particularly careful that the head shall be always red. It is not too much for the Wiondats to come here to Tuscarawi, a distance of at least a hundred miles, to supply themselves with this red coloring matter. 135 [386] [301]

Concerning plants and roots of medicinal virtue, it would be possible, if one were to devote himself to inquiry, to secure a great deal of information from the Indians, for what one of these does not know another does, each man and woman having some knowledge in this direction, some more, some less. Hence, the custom that a patient who has consulted an Indian and secured a medicine from him without, however, being benefited, will go immediately to another; if no relief is obtained through his advice, the patient goes to a third, a fourth until he finds one whose medicine helps. For many ailments they have very good remedies, e. g., for rheumatism. In respect to this affliction I have witnessed instances where they have effected a thorough cure and not only once or twice. At times they can secure desired results with only two or three kinds of roots, at other times more are required. If a simple remedy does not afford relief, they may use twenty or more kinds of roots. Even in such cases I know of cures having been effected. In treating rheumatism, bathing and sweating play a great part. 757 278

They have remedies even for fevers. When a patient has been given a dose, they are generally able to tell from its workings whether he will recover or die. If he does not retain the medicine, this is regarded as a sign that he will hardly recover. I have paid some attention to this and like cases of treatment and found that the Indians have generally been correct in their

757 278 predictions. In one important respect, according to my opinion, they make mistakes, namely, in not properly measuring doses and often needlessly torturing patients. Hence, it is that in connection with the external hurts, where over-treatment is less likely to occur, they have the better results, as is the case with rheumatism, for which they use only external applications. One Indian knows of good remedies for one disease or kind of injury, another another. Owing to the fact that they rarely reveal their knowledge to each other, much of the practical knowledge is lost.

In the matter of diseases peculiar to women, the women know a number of remedies, which usually act quickly and well, as in the case of hard labor, which sometimes occurs, though not frequently, and in other troubles. If mothers cannot suckle children for want of milk, they are able, by use of a drink, to increase the supply.[142]

278 In the use of poisonous roots the Indians are well versed, and there are many melancholy examples where they have by their use destroyed themselves or others. If a case of poisoning is taken in time, the effect of the poisonous root may be prevented by inducing vomiting. In case assistance is rendered too late, death follows, as a rule, in a few hours. There are poisonous roots that operate by slow degrees, in some cases illness may last a year or longer.

137 The so-called Poison Vine[143] grows plentifully in the bottoms. It climbs up the trees, much as a grape vine will, the main stem becoming as thick as an arm. Some are affected with swelling in the face and body if they touch it, others, even when the wind blows over it upon them. This is very painful until cured. Others do not suffer from the vine at all. This holds good of Indians as of others.

There are some poisonous trees.[144] These do not attain great height. They have a milky juice under the bark which is very poisonous.

278 757 824 The bark of many different kinds of trees is used by the Indians for preparing medicine. Occasionally, you will meet an Indian who has knowledge in this kind of remedies, but knows nothing of roots or herbs. With the white walnut bark,[145]

With the white walnut bark, 145

used externally and internally, they effect many cures. Laid 278
upon flesh wounds this relieves pain at once, prevents swelling 757
and accelerates healing. Applied externally in case of tooth- 824
ache, head-ache or pain in the limbs, this brings speedy relief. [752]

Beyond question there are many roots and herbs not found
in Europe; perhaps it would be safe to say that this is true of 070
most here found, but as I am no authority in this subject and
know no names, except perhaps the Indian designations, I will
add nothing further about roots and herbs. Doubtless, there are
books from which one might get more information than it is
in my power to give.

The following quadrupeds are to be found along the Ohio: 136
In the first place, there are the deer,[146] whose skins are much
used in barter and trade by the Indians. Their horns are not [438]
straight, but bent toward each other and have prongs. From
May until September they are red, after that they lose the red
hair and their hide is covered with long, gray hair, which is their
winter coat. At about the beginning of the year they shed
their horns; new ones grow in spring. These are at first and
until they attain their full size, covered with a thin skin, which
peels off when the horns harden. The tail is about a foot long
and stands up straight when they run. As the under side of the
tail is white it is possible to see them running at a great dis-
tance. The young are born in June or about that time, are red,
spotted with white, until in the fall when they become gray.
Deer have young each spring, sometimes two. As, however,
they are hunted so persistently at the call of trade, their num-
bers diminish with each year, even though the forests are of
vast extent, for the hunters are many. A large buckskin is [435]
valued at a Spanish dollar; two doeskins are regarded as equal
in value to one buckskin.[147]

The bear is quite black, has short ears, a thick head and quite a sharp snout.[148] It has but a very short tail and great strong claws on his feet. It can easily climb the trees and bring down chestnuts and acorns. This is done, however, only when these are not ripe and do not, therefore, fall down. They generally break off the branches, throw them down and then climb

136 down to consume the nuts. Where there is food and mast they are found. It is as if they knew that in this or that region it would be good for them to live. In the fall, when the Indians hunt the deer, they take no notice of the bears; otherwise they would spoil their fall hunting. They do, however, notice their tracks and whither they lead. At the end of December the bears, having fattened, seek their winter quarters, which they prepare in the trunks of hollow trees or in caves or the thickest part of the forest, where many old trees lie piled up. They leave their winter quarters in early spring, if they have young, of which there are generally two, not until May. During this period they are said to eat nothing, but to live on their own fat. When the deer hunt of the fall, at which season skins are
136 best, is over, the Indians immediately prepare for the bear hunt.
224 They are remarkably expert in finding out the haunts of these animals. If the bears are in hollow trees, it is frequently necessary to cut down the tree, as the bear will not leave his retreat otherwise. In case the bear comes out when they hammer on the tree and make a noise, they stand prepared with their guns to kill him as soon as most of his bulk is emerged. Their skins
[513] are no great object for trade, hence the Indians prefer to use them for their sleeping places, for which the long hair makes them peculiarly useful. There is likewise a kind of bear, much larger than the common bear, with much hair on the legs, but little on the bodies, which appear quite smooth.[149] The Indians call it the king of bears, for they have found by experience that many bears will willingly follow it. While all the bears are carnivorous, and, therefore, flesh of game kept by the Indians hanging on trees forms for them a welcome repast, or they are fond of feeding on swine they catch in the forest, this kind of bear is particularly voracious. Many instances are known where they have seized upon even defenseless Indian women and children. In more northerly regions, as, e. g., in the country of the Mingoes, these are more frequently found and they have killed many Indians.

136 Elk are in my estimation most like the European stag,[150] and I have often thought that they must be the same species and that what is here called the stag is the European fallow deer,

but as I have seen neither stag nor fallow deer in Europe I cannot 136
speak authoritatively. I recognize that the English distinguish between the elk and the stag in Europe. They, also, shed their coat in spring and are reddish in color during the summer like the deer. In fall they are light gray and in winter dark gray. The bucks have long, heavy antlers with many prongs. These they shed each year as do the deer. The tail is quite short. As the skins are very thick and heavy and of no [224]
particular value, elk do not tempt the Indians to the chase. Occasionally, one is shot that happens near an Indian, but most of the flesh is left in the forest for beasts of prey, even though the animals are always fat, in summer as in winter and do not become lean, like the deer.

The buffaloes[181] are dark brown in color, covered with long hair, or rather soft down mixed with hair. Their legs are short, the body is very heavy. They have a hunch upon their backs, just above the shoulders. This diminishes toward the rear, hence, they appear much shorter from the back than from the front. They have a thick head and a long beard depends from the chin. Altogether, they present a terrible appearance. Their horns are short, but thick and quite black. The buffaloes are a good deal heavier and larger than cattle. One that I have seen [231]
was a yearling, raised by the Indians and quite tame; even this was the size of a small cow, that has already had calf. At one time these animals appeared in great numbers along the Muskingum, but as soon as the country begins to be inhabited by the Indians, they retire and are now only to be found near the mouth of the above named river. Along the banks of the Scioto and further south, both Indians and whites say that they may be seen in herds numbering hundreds. That is two or three hundred miles from here. If a buffalo cow is shot, its calf, if such it has, will stand quietly by until the huntsman has skinned its dam and then follow him into his hut, stay at his fire and not leave him. That this is true, I have living witnesses enough about me to testify.

The panther[182] has a head and face like a cat, its legs are short and the paws are armed with sharp claws. It is a beast of prey of uncommon strength. Its tail is long, compared with

136 that of the cat. Deer it is able to catch at will. If it spies one and is desirous of capturing it, the panther crawls along the ground behind fallen trees or through the thicket until it is sure of capturing the deer in one leap. Then it springs upon its prey, seizes it with its claws and does not release its hold until the victim is dead. If it misses its aim at the first spring, it never attempts a second. When the deer has been killed, the panther devours but a small part, leaving the rest. When again pressed by hunger it seeks new game. At a distance of ten yards from a tree, the panther can leap ten yards up the tree and leap the same distance from the tree. It is not known that a panther has ever done the Indians injury without provocation. Should an Indian get near the place where the young are kept,
136 then he is in great danger and if he does not know what to do
224 under such circumstances, is almost sure to lose his life. He must never turn his back upon the panther, thinking that he can escape. He must not take his eyes off the animal, and if he has not the courage to shoot, gently walk backward, until he is a good distance away. If he shoots and misses, then he is in imminent danger and must keep his eyes fixed on the panther. It has happened that in this way Indians have saved their lives. It has occurred that a bear has fought so long with a panther, near to where the latter had its young, that both fell dead. The skin of the panther is gray in color, mixed with reddish hair.

Wild cats, gray in color, are distinguished from the do-
136 mestic cats in that they have hardly any tail.[153] They are beasts of prey, even invade the hunting lodges of the Indians, when the latter are out and if they find meat devour it.

There are three varieties of fox, red,[154] gray[155] and black.[156]

The raccoon[157] is somewhat larger than a common cat and has a pointed snout. Its forefeet bear some resemblance to hands and are used as such, for it digs up small mussels out of the sand, which form its food when there are no acorns or chestnuts to be had. Its hind legs resemble those of the bear. It is fattest in autumn and winter, when it lives in hollow logs like a bear, without seeking food. They do not hibernate as long as do the bears. In a severe winter it retires for two whole months,

otherwise, only four weeks. The flesh is wholesome and tastes 136
like bears' meat and its skin is useful to hatters.

The otter[158] can live on land or in water. It often travels a considerable distance across the country from one creek or river to another.

The beaver[159] was formerly found in great numbers in this 136
region, but since the Indians have learned from the whites to 224
catch them in steel-traps,[160] they are more rarely found. A necessary thing in connection with the beaver-catch is a certain oil or spirit which the Indians prepare of various kinds of bark of trees and other aromatic things, which they place in the traps to decoy the beavers into them. The skins are always of con- 136
siderable value. They are very industrious animals and for their size, of uncommon strength. Beaver dams of such dimensions are found in creeks, that it might be imagined that they had been built by human hands. Such dams they build when there are many together, for they work harmoniously, at night, in order to dam up the water and often put a considerable piece of land under water in course of their operations. In the middle of the dam they build their dwelling places that are raised above the water, wood and earth being the materials used. As their dens are in the middle of the lakes they cannot be easily reached. In the front part of the mouth they have four quite broad and very sharp teeth, two above and two below. With these they are able to gnaw through trees that are nearly a foot in diameter. When the tree is down they divide it into pieces of such size that they are able to manage them. These pieces carried into the water, they join together in such fashion that the water cannot tear them apart. I have myself seen in quite a large creek a beaver dam, in which the beavers were still undisturbed at home, so that I could observe their habits and work. The dam, extending straight across the creek, reached three feet above the water, so that it was possible to cross the creek dry shod, and put several acres of land under water. In another place, where the water had threatened to take another course, they had been obliged to build another dam, made of earth and branches of trees. Had this dam not been so far from human habitation, one might have thought that it had been constructed

136 by men. The animals are of a dark brown color, have short legs and broad feet, adapted to swimming and armed with short claws. The tail is broad and flat. At the end it is broadest, smooth, without any hair, and looks as though covered with fish scales. The tail furnshes the best flesh and is much liked by the Indians. It has an appearance different from the rest [439] of the animal's flesh, being more like fish meat. As the skins always bring a good price, the Indians hunt these animals constantly.

The opossum is about as large as a small dog, of grayish white color and carnivorous.[161] If it finds a dead deer, it strikes into the carcass, lives there and devours it gradually. It climbs the trees and sleeps hanging to a branch by its tail,[162] which is bare of hair and quite round. Should one approach it unawares, it never attempts to escape but lies down as dead and makes no motion, though handled and turned. If one leaves it, the animal watches and creeps off slyly as soon as the enemy has retired some distance. It is not able to run swiftly. The female has a bag under her belly, in which she carries her young until they are too large for this receptacle, when they follow the mother. If she meets with a fallen tree in her passage, she either walks around or lifts her young, one by one, over the trunk and then proceeds on her journey. The flesh of the crea- [262] ture tastes like pork and is eaten by the English, rarely by the Indians.

The pole-cat[163] has white and black markings, a gentle and mild countenance. It goes out of the way for no one, and whoever approaches too near is ill rewarded for his curiosity. It has a special gland containing a fluid intolerably foetid. If one approaches too closely, the fluid is discharged and thrown in all directions with the tail. The offensive odor no one can bear and one is ready enough to get away. If one's person or clothes has been infected by the moisture, it is necessary to bathe and change before returning into company. Even dogs, when they kill the animal, find the stench unbearable. Yet the flesh [262] of the creature is eaten by the Indians. It is said to be very good and not to have any offensive odor.

The porcupine[164] is not found along the Muskingum, seldom D 136 seen along the Ohio to the north, but frequently in the country D of the Mingoes. The Indians eat its flesh, which tastes like [262] pork, with great relish. It climbs the trees nimbly and has its home in hollow trees. The body is heavier than that of the fox. D On the back the animal has whitish-brown quills, the length of a finger. These the squaws, particularly among the Mingoes, [301] color red and use as needles to ornament their moccasins, pouches, in which tobacco and pipes are carried, and other things. As it cannot run swiftly, when anyone approaches, the animal turns its back, which is full of quills, toward the enemy, unless it is possible to get up a tree. Hence, they are easily killed. Dogs that attack the creature, suffer terribly and usually die, unless all the quills they have gotten into their bodies are removed, which is not easily accomplished, as many of them break off.

There is a small animal in the Mingoe country, called the I marten,[165] concerning which I have been told that it probably be- 136 longs to the sable tribe. Though but small animals, their skins [224] are of great value. The Indians catch them in wooden traps, using meat as a bait. The skins are sold to the whites.

I have already referred to the moose[166] that are to be D found further north, of which I have seen nothing but the horns. 136 The latter differ from those of the elk in that the prongs are broad and round. The Indians declare that these are equal in size to a horse. They have cloven hoofs and nostrils large enough to put a hand in. As I have no certain knowledge of these animals and have never even in Europe seen any nor have ever had a satisfactory description, I will not definitely declare that these are the animals they speak of, though I should be at a loss to know what other animals they refer to.

The muskrat,[167] able to live in or out of the water, is in many respects most like the beaver. Its tail is not broad as that of the beaver, but oval-shaped. Their dwellings are in the water, but so arranged that they can, according to inclination, be in the water or in a dry place. A great quantity of odorous matter is found in the body of this animal. The odor is unpleasant when too strong, but a little of it is agreeable. In the

136 settlements of the white people the muskrat does much damage to mill-dams by its burrowing.

There are three kinds of squirrels, the black,[168] the grey,[169] and the red. The black are most commonly found, the grey are the largest and the red the smallest in size. Their flesh is
[262] tender, and eaten by the Indians in case of sickness or when they are very hungry for meat.

The ground squirrel[170] lives under the ground and is somewhat smaller than a common rat. They do great damage in the fields of the Indians, not only digging out the corn when it has been planted, but also pumpkin and melon seed. When the Indian corn is ripe, they lay in good stores of it for the winter. They stuff their cheeks full of it and then carry it to their storehouses.

The groundhog[171] also has its dwelling under ground. It is about the size of a large domestic cat, though heavier. It lives on grass and is, also, very fond of melons and pumpkins. It chews the cud.[172] Its feet are armed with claws. When pursued and unable to reach its hole, the animal will climb a
[262] tree. The flesh is toothsome and eaten by the Indians.

There is, also, a very large variety of wild cat,[173] other than the kind already mentioned. This is as large as a dog. It is very savage, even attacking a deer and killing it.

The hare[174] in these parts is small and not found in large numbers, being pursued by birds and beasts of prey. Towards the north I have seen them of the same size as those in Europe. In that region some are found with a snow white fur.[175] They dwell in hollow trees.

White deer are seldom seen in these parts.[176] These have generally in summer some red and in winter some gray spots.
[825] The Indians call a white deer the king of the deer and believe that the rest flock about and follow him.[177]

Wolves are very numerous, most are gray, some are almost black. As their skins serve no useful purpose and are not much valued, the Indians do not pursue them, unless they catch them
[224] tearing skins or devouring meat they have carefully laid away. Sometimes the wolves break into their hunting huts and do much damage. They rarely attack men, never when there are deer

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

136

to pursue. The latter they attack in summer or winter, never stopping pursuit until a victim has been captured. Occasionally the deer save themselves in creeks and rivers, swimming a great distance down stream, so that it is impossible for the wolves to trace them. When a wolf has caught a deer and killed it, it will not at once consume the flesh, but go to the highest hill nearby and call its comrades, by howling. When these have assembled they devour the deer together.

Wild geese[178] appear here in spring and autumn. Some remain during the winter, others during the summer, the latter hatching their young in this region. Most of them remain long in this country, passing toward winter into a warmer latitude, toward summer to the north, where they build in the neighborhood of the Great Lakes and return in autumn with their young.

Wild ducks are birds of passage like the geese, but there are some varieties that stay during the summer season. One kind, called the tree duck, builds its nest in hollow trees, either hanging over the water or near to it.[179] When the young are hatched, they are thrown into the water and taken elsewhere. The male bird is the most beautiful of the water-fowls and very good to eat.

Another variety, that also has its nest here, is the sheldrake.[180] This has a narrow bill, armed with teeth. They live on fish, their flesh having the taste of fish. Indians rarely use
262
them for food, though the flesh of some is very palatable.[181]

The crane is the largest of the birds of these parts.[182] Standing on its long legs and stretching its neck upwards, it is as tall as a man. Its body is proportionately heavy. When hit by a shot and only wounded, it attacks its pursuer and has great power in striking with its wings. It is gray in color, has a sharply pointed bill and its feet are formed like those of the turkey. This bird is commonly found upon large plains or near to rivers. Their flesh is dark, rather tough and seldom eaten by the Indians. Their trumpeting may be heard a considerable distance.

Wild swans[183] are quite like the domestic birds, I have seen
262
in Holland, quite white and of the same size. The Indians

136 declare that their flesh tastes like that of the bear, of which [262] they are particularly fond, and is often so fat that pieces may be cut from the flesh.

Wild turkeys[184] may be seen in the fall in flocks numbering hundreds. In the summer they disperse in the woods, this being the time for hatching the young. In winter their plumage is of a shining black, with white spots on the wings; in summer it [222] changes to a light brown. When the time comes for laying the eggs, the Indians seek them, as they are very fond of them.

[262] Pheasants are not valued by the Indians, though their flesh is palatable.[185] They fall victims, however, to birds of prey. Were it not for the birds of prey the woods would swarm with them, for the hen lays above twenty eggs at one time.

Heath-grouse, found here also, are a little larger than the pheasants.[186] They are not valued by the Indians any more than the pheasants. In the winter the latter shelter themselves from the birds by plunging, when pursued, into the snow, often running a considerable distance from one place to another under the snow, thus escaping their foes.

The wild pigeon[187] is of an ash-gray color, the male being distinguished by a red breast. In some years in fall, or even in spring, they flock together in such numbers that the air is darkened by their flight. Three years ago they appeared in such great numbers that the ground under their roosting-place was covered with their dung above a foot high, during one night. [223] The Indians went out, killed them with sticks and came home loaded. At such a time the noise the pigeons make is such that it is difficult for people near them to hear or understand each other. They do not always gather in such numbers in one place, often scattering over the great forests.

The turtle-doves are smaller than the pigeons and are always found in pairs.[188]

Partridges are small, neatly formed birds.[189] In the fall and winter they fly in broods. In the settlements they like to remain near the plantations, as they find the food they like in the fields. The flesh is tender and of a fine flavor. They are favorites with all people, being innocent and harmless birds.

136

The eagle has a white head and tail.[190] The wings are black and the body partly black and partly ash-colored. It builds its nest usually in the fork of some lofty and thick tree. It lays the foundation with a great quantity of branches and repairs the nest built there every spring. Usually, they hatch but one, at most two, in a year. It is unquestionably the strongest among the birds of prey. I have seen it fight with another bird of prey,[191] much larger than itself and that wished to occupy its nest. Lifting the other bird into the air, the eagle hurled it down, after having severely injured it. Every morning the eagle goes out in search of prey and brings to its young, birds, squirrels, snakes and fish. Fish now and then prove destructive to them, for in attacking large fish, the bird sometimes cannot disengage its talons soon enough, but is drawn down into the water and drowned.

There is another species of eagle that I have seen nowhere but in this region. The Indians call it Chauwalanne, forked eagle,[192] from the fact that its tail is forked. It often soars to such a height that the eye cannot reach it. If it approaches the dwellings of the Indians, they always look upon it as a sign of change of weather or rain. Often the change follows such approach. It feeds upon snakes and other creatures, as does the white-headed eagle, but it is as a rule, continually on the wing during its repast. It builds its nest in high trees, but in as concealed a place as can be found.

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Of other birds of prey, there are to be found here the hawk,[193] the stone-falcon,[194] that remains near the rocks, the pigeon-hawk,[195] that pursues not only the pigeon but all other birds it can conquer, though it is a small bird and not as large as the pigeon.

The wood-pecker has a light red head with a red plume and is otherwise black with white spots.[196] It finds its food in old trees, this consisting of worms that are to be found in the wood.

One variety is called the Red-headed Wood-pecker,[197] because of the red head, is a nuisance in orchards, because it attacks the apples.

136 Another variety of wood-pecker is very small, is spotted and is much pursued by birds of prey, especially the hawk. Occasionally, the wood-pecker is able to defend himself against his enemies, it having happened that this bird when attacked, has thrust its bill into the head of the pursuer so that the latter fell dead.

The yellow wood-pecker,[198] so called because of its yellow wings, also climbs up and down the trees in search of food, with its head turned upward or downward.

A few green parrots[199] are seen in the woods here in summer. Further south they may be found in great numbers.

The loon[200] is a water bird about the size of a goose and is heavily feathered. It is spotted black and white, lives on fish and has a pointed bill. It cannot walk on land, as its feet are too far back, but is a strong swimmer. It can swim a considerable distance under the water, before rising to the surface, [223] especially if it is being fired upon. Often the Indians are obliged to shoot a number of times before they hit the bird, for it is noted for its swiftness in diving, as well as for its swimming. It is not eatable, but the Indians make pouches of its [262 415] skin, which is taken off whole, large enough to hold pipe, tobacco, flint, steel and knife.

There are two other birds of prey among those that fish, the one larger than the eagle[201] the other a small bird[202] that makes its nest on the ground along steep banks of creeks or rivers, where it makes a hole just large enough to slip into.

The heron[203] has long legs, great wings and a lean body.

There are two kinds of owls. The larger[204] is heard very much in the woods at night.

Crows[205] do much damage on the plantations, especially in the cornfields, both when the corn is planted and when it is ripe.

The Turkey Posser[206] has a head like a turkey, without feathers. It lives on carrion. The raven[207] is also a scavenger and at the same time a bird of prey, often attacking chickens. The raven makes good use of the meat that Indians leave in the woods.

The hoopoe[208] is fawn colored on the back and has a brownish breast. It has a plume of feathers on its head and is to be found along creeks and rivers where it finds its food.

The black-bird[209] has a reddish breast and its wings and back are ash-colored. Its song may be heard in wild regions and deserts.

The blue-bird[210] has a reddish breast also, otherwise its color is a beautiful azure. It makes its appearance in spring before any other bird.

The mocking-bird[211] mimics what it hears and imitates other birds.

A certain yellow[212] bird with black wings is to be found everywhere in great numbers. Its song is very agreeable.

There is another kind,[213] orange in color with black spots. This bird hangs its nest, made of wild hemp or flax, on the branches of trees. At one side of the nest there is a little opening at which the bird goes in and out.

Another kind of birds,[214] light-red in color, is particularly beautiful, as is another red bird[215] with black wings. Both kinds I have seen in Georgia and South Carolina.

Starlings[216] are quite black and found here in great numbers. They do much damage on the plantations.

The cat-bird[217] is so called because its note is like the mewing of a cat.

Finches,[218] tom-tits,[219] wrens,[220] are found in great numbers.

The smallest of the birds of this region is the honey-bird,[221] Without perching on the flowers, it sucks the honey out of them. In its swift flight it makes the air buzz and hum with its wings.

Serpents are so numerous that it is remarkable that Indians who spend much of their time in the forests are not bitten oftener. In stony places or mountains they are found most frequently. The winter they spend underground or in crevices of the rocks. In places where they are numerous, they gather in the fall and lie upon one another and twisted together until spring. Should they be discovered in winter they have to all appearances but little life, being able to move, but not having strength enough to crawl away.

3;Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

136 (1) Among the most dangerous reptiles are the rattlesnakes.[222] They are yellow in color, marked with black spots. The largest are about four feet long, sometimes more, and about as thick as an arm. The rattles are at the end of their tails, and often betray the snakes when they are not seen. These rattles appear to be a thin, transparent horny substance, arranged in links. From the number of links it is possible to tell the age of the serpent, one being added every year. It is a rare thing to find one with twenty rattles. When the rattling sound is heard, it is a sign that the serpent is angry, the trembling of the tail causing the rattling. Even when they glide along the rattles make a slight sound which can, however, be detected only by those well acquainted with the ways of the snake. They do not rattle unless something approaches them. Head and mouth are rather broad in proportion to the size. On either side of the mouth they have two very sharp teeth, which lie concealed in a skin sack until they want to bite, when they are able to move these forward with great swiftness. Hence, it is that when anyone has been bitten four little openings close together may be seen in the skin. If a rattlesnake has been killed, which often happens, as they do not seek to escape nor go out of the way for any one, and one draws forward the teeth with a little stick, a clear liquid spurts out of the bag lying at the root of the teeth. This is the poisonous juice. Undoubtedly, the teeth in themselves are also poisonous. Indians [752] who have been bitten, even if they happen to be quite alone in the forest, know what to do. They seek certain herbs and roots that may be found anywhere and cure themselves of the bite, so that one rarely hears of death occasioned by the bite of this serpent. Horses or cattle bitten in the woods, where it is not possible to render immediate assistance, die in a short time. With proper management these animals may recover in twenty-four hours. With human beings a cure is not effected so quickly, and a curious thing is that the part where a human being has been bitten, becomes spotted like the rattlesnake. The fat of the rattlesnake is used by apothecaries. Here along the Muskingum rattlesnakes are not as numerous as in some regions that are stony or mountainous. Along the Susquehanna there

are very many, especially along the West Branch up in the mountains. In that country in the spring of the year when the snakes come out of their holes they have been seen in such numbers in certain places that it would have been possible to load up several wagons with them, the air being infected with an intolerable stench. This was seen to be the case by Indians who were coming down the West Branch. At the time many of the reptiles had already crawled up the mountains, which were very steep. As there were many fallen leaves about, they set fire to them and the trees with the result that many of the snakes rolled down the mountains and were burned. When I passed through that region the first time, which was in June, I did, indeed, see unusually many rattlesnakes, but I could hardly have believed that there would be as many as the above incident would indicate. The second time, however, when my travels took me through that country, which happened in July, my companion and I had quite a different experience. Not only did we see them singly and in smaller numbers along the wayside, but in stony places so many around that when we began to kill them there was rattling all about to such a degree that we held it advisable to get out of that region as soon as possible. After this I could believe what I had heard, for in the fall, when they gather at different places, there must be immense number of them. 136

2) Copperheads,[223] named from the color of the reptiles. Their bite is as venomous as that of rattlesnakes.

3) Vipers[224] have a flat head, are short and thick, black on the back and gray on the belly. When approached, they distend the head and hiss so that it is possible to hear them at quite a distance. Their bite also is venomous.

4) One variety[225] of snake found here I have met with in no other region. The belly is quite red. These serpents may be found in the water and on land. They get to be from five to six feet in length and their bite is poisonous. To cure the bite of this reptile the Indians use a plant that grows in the water. These snakes have teeth all around the mouth, above and below, but no fangs. [752]

5) Hornsnakes[226] are in color and size like the copperheads, except that they have a sharply pointed horn on the tail. They

136 are as venomous as the copperheads and like them, only of middle size.

6) There is another kind[237] of blacksnake which gets to be about six feet long, but it is slender and able to move more swiftly. These climb trees and despoil nests of the young birds. The bite of the reptile causes a slight swelling, but has no other evil effects.

7) Water snakes[238] spend much of their time in the water, live on fish and are not poisonous.

8) A kind of striped, brightly marked snakes,[239] which are small and harmless.

9) There are green snakes,[240] white-bellied, not more than a foot in length and harmless.

I have myself seen a hawk descend on a blacksnake, of the kind described under number 6, and attack it, but the snake quickly coiled itself round the bird and killed it.

Concerning none of the reptiles described above, beyond the rattlesnake, is it known that they gather in great numbers at any time. None are so numerously represented as the rattlesnakes. All of them swallow their prey whole. Frogs, turtles, birds, groundhogs, squirrels, they swallow thus, but by slow degrees. They usually begin with the hind leg of an animal and gradually draw it in. All serpents cast their coat in spring. Often the whole skin of a snake, complete from the head downward, may be seen lying on the ground. This is very thin. The new skin of a black serpent is a shining jet. It is said that a rattlesnake, if irritated, and unable to avenge itself, will sink its fangs into its own body, with the result that it swells considerably and dies in a few hours. This snake is said to possess another peculiar property, as witnessed both by Indians and whites, viz., that of gazing with fixed eyes upon bird or squirrel and by a kind of fascination, stupefying them in such a manner that the poor creatures drop from the boughs and fall easy prey to their enemy.

[825] Lizards are but rarely found here. One variety, not above five or six inches in length, is said to be poisonous. Indians make much ado when they see them and try to frighten them away. They dwell in hollow trees, where they also keep their

136 young. Other varieties, some very small, come into the huts that are reared in the forests and are very harmless.

Of fishes, there are doubtless many more varieties than those I have seen in the Ohio. I will, however, confine notice to those I have seen and know.

1) Pike[231] are of uncommon size and generally known.

2) The black-fish,[232] as the Indians call it, has large, brown scales, a small head and a small, round, soft mouth, not armed with teeth. Its shape is not broad, but round. It is reckoned one of the best flavored.

3) The buffalo-fish[233] is thus called by Indians and Europeans because of its being heard sometimes to bellow in the water. Its length is about a foot and a half or even two feet, and its breadth five or six inches. It has a curved back, prickly fins, a narrow mouth, and a small head, in which two white stones[234] are found, flat on one side and a little convex on the other. These are not ordinary stones, but have a stony appearance. The fish has no teeth, but at the entrance of its throat there are two strong flat bones, with grooves exactly fitting each other. With these it can crack the hardest mussels, which are its chief food, and serve to bait the hook in angling for it. The Indians, however, rarely using a hook and line, commonly pierce this fish with an iron prong of their own making. If any one should venture to put his finger into its mouth, even when to appearance it is half dead, he is in danger of losing one or more of his fingers, for the mussel shells which the fish constantly cracks, are very hard. [226]

4) The catfish[235] is without scales and a good fish to eat. In the Muskingum there are no very large specimens of this fish. In the Ohio, on the other hand, they grow to an unusual size. In Pittsburg, a man who had gone fishing at night, having bound the line to his arm and gone to sleep in his canoe, was dragged into the water by the catfish and lost his life. Man and fish were found close together several days later.

5) The sturgeon[236] is the largest of the fish in the Muskingum. The largest caught here were from three to three and a half feet in length.

6) There is a kind of fish[237] with a narrowly formed mouth,

136 armed with sharp teeth, almost like the bill of a duck. It has scales. The Indians do not use it for food.

7) Another kind[238] resembles the catfish very much. It has no scales. This also has a broad, plain beak like the bill of a goose, almost the length of a hand. This it uses to dig in sand or slime in search of food. The mouth opens below.

8) The white perch[239] is short and broad. It has scales and is good to eat.

9) The yellow perch[240] is not broad, but longer than the last named, has prickly fins and sharp teeth like those of a pike. It has a yellowish appearance and is one of the most palatable of fishes.

10) Eels are rarely found.[241]

11) There is an other variety of fish,[242] or whatever one may call it, resembling a small catfish, but having four short legs. It has a wide mouth and is about a foot and a half in length. The fins are short.

136 The river tortoise[243] of these parts is a species different
from that found in Pensilvanien, which has a hard shell. The
225 shell of this is quite soft and its head small and pointed, like
262 that of a sea tortoise. The Indians shoot them, for they are not easily caught in any other way, as they seldom venture out of the water upon the banks of the river. The Indians are very fond of the flesh and of the eggs, which the animals lay in the sand on islands.

There is another variety of land tortoise[244] in these parts which has a hard shell, is small and very prettily marked. Flesh is also eaten.

Two varieties of shellfish[245] are found as well. One re-
136 sembles the clams found along the seacoast, the inside of the shell being violet, shading to red; the other has a larger shell, which is white inside. Some speciments of smaller varieties[246] are also found.

Snails are likewise found. From one variety spring, it is believed, the many large gad-flies, which in the summer, in the months of July and August, worry the cattle to such an extent that during the day they cannot graze in the forest. During these two months both cattle and horses make for shelter every

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7
IROQUOIS NM9

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136

morning as soon as the sun begins to shine and return to the forest only at sundown. This species of snail deposits a colorless liquid of the consistency of saliva on the stems of various plants in the forest (presumably containing the eggs of the animal, which are hatched out by the sun). From this, it is supposed that the pestiferous gad-flies are hatched out.[247] Where there are large herds of cattle that destroy the weeds and root them up, not many of these insects are found.[248]

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The common frogs are found in swamps near puddles and ponds. They are of a brownish color, do not croak, but have a note like a short whistle.[249] In springtime they may be heard all night. The Mingoes catch them at night by the light of a torch and eat them either fresh or dried. Green frogs are but rarely met with and only in rivers and brooks.[250] The largest American frog is the bull frog.[251] It inhabits rivers and large brooks. Their croaking resembles the bellowing of a bull, but is far more penetrating.

Of rats, nothing is known in these parts, but mice[252] are very common.

Mosquitoes and sandflies are found in woods in summertime in great numbers. Both sting and a night in the forest would be intolerable without the smoke of a fire. They are particularly annoying in changeable weather. Even horses will make for the fire and stand in smoke to be free of the pests. Great and small gadflies come in July and August and trouble cattle so much that only at night the latter will graze, the gadflies disappearing until dawn of day.

Ticks are to be found in the woods. These will attack one, pierce the skin and suck the blood until they have so swelled that they drop off. Bed-bugs are to be found in the Indian huts at any time and fleas in the summer, not a few.

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The first deer a boy shoots proves the occasion of a great solemnity. If it happens to be a buck it is given to some old man; if a doe, to some old woman. These bring in the whole animal, skinned, if it is possible to do so. If the animal is too heavy, they bring the skin and as much of the flesh as they can carry, fetching the rest later. When they reach the village, they

224 turn to the east, having the whole or part of the animal on the
back, always with the skin, before entering the house and give
852 vent to a prolonged call, which is the old man's or old woman's
prayer to the Deity in behalf of the boy, that he may always be
a fortunate hunter. During the repast they repeat their petitions and give counsel to the boy (who, with his companions, is a
mere spectator) regarding the chase and all the circumstances
of his future life, exhorting him above all things to revere old
age and gray hairs and to be obedient to their words, because
888 experience has given them wisdom. Such counsel was heeded
178 in time past, and though the ceremonies are still kept up, the
young no longer revere the aged as was the case at one time.

Formerly, the young revered the old, especially if they had gray or white heads.[223] They believed that these must be very wise and prudent, because they were of such an age and seemed to be favored of the gods. Therefore, they treated the aged well, brought them, it may be, a deer, in the hope that they might be instructed of them how to attain to equal age. They presented the old, also, with wampum or belts, with the same hope. While nothing was said, the aged understood and gave the desired instruction on another occasion.

No young Indian in those days would have dared to take
784 the tobacco pouch, (made usually of the skin of the otter, beaver,
276 raccoon, fox, pole-cat, or some other animal, stripped off whole,
with a little slit at the neck), of an old person and take a pipeful of tobacco, thinking such an act a great sin and believing that it would be the cause of shortening his life. When, therefore, in those days, a young brave asked an aged man permission to fill his pipe from the latter's pouch, the old man understood that this was not the young man's intention at all, but he wished to place something in the pouch. Usually, wampum was put in and no tobacco taken out. This, also, was done with the hope that the aged man might instruct the young brave how to be wise and to attain to great age. Indeed, good counsel is given, to bring offerings regularly on behalf of themselves and their friends, to be chaste, to abstain from drinking and stealing, which were common even in those days. These customs, however, have ceased. The old have lost respect and the young

IROQUOIS NM9
Shawnee NN17

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regard them but little. They do not seem to be ashamed of their 888
vices. For this reason, Indians themselves declare that their 178
condition grows worse from year to year. As there is neither
law nor legal penalty among them, they have nothing to fear, D
except that an injured one may avenge himself in the manner
in which he has been injured. If one has seduced the wife of [684]
another, the offended party will seek to seduce the wife of the
offender. He will keep his purpose a secret and not rest until
he has obtained satisfaction, when he makes known to others
what he has done, so that the original offender may hear of it. D

When, in a young female, the first menstrual discharge oc- 881
curs, generally between the twelfth and sixteenth year, the Dela-
wares generally separate such daughters from all companionship, [841]
the Monsies [Monseys] being more strict and having more cere- [145]
monies in the observance of the custom than the Miamis. They
build for such a girl, separate hut, apart from the rest, where
her mother or some old female acquaintance cares for her and
guards her so that none may see her. Wherefore, she is also
kept within the hut the whole of the menstrual period, with the
blanket over her head. She is given little to eat, but regularly
dosed with emetics. She is not allowed to do any work during
the whole time, which generally lasts twelve days. At the end
of the time, they bring her into her home, looking black, grimy
and dishevelled, because she has been lying about in dust and
ashes the whole time. Washed and dressed in new garments, D
she is allowed to be in the home, but required to wear a cap with [582
a long shield, so that she can neither see any one readily, nor be 292]
seen. Such a covering she must wear for two months, at the
end of which time she is informed that she may marry.

The Shavanose [Shawanese] and Mingoes, however, who I
observe much the same custom, follow a different course in this S
matter. The young woman in question is allowed to remain in 881
the house. She prepares food for those in the house, of the 262
corn and fruits she has raised. Of such food she does not, how-
ever, herself partake, but goes to her hut, apart from the others,
and there prepares and eats her food. D

Every month, during her menstrual period, a Delaware 841
woman lives by herself in a separate hut, which is usually very

IROQUOIS NM9

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841 poorly built, and remains there two or three days, food being
taken to her. When the time is over they bathe and wash their
clothes and are allowed to return to their husbands. During the
D menstrual period, they are not permitted to do any cooking or
784 domestic work. None will eat what a woman in this condition
262 prepares, for food prepared under such circumstances is said to
841 be unwholesome and to cause pain in the abdomen. The women
do not go into company, but keep to their huts until their time
is over. Hence, it occasionally happens that a woman engaged
I in baking will leave everything and go to her hut. This custom
[841] does not obtain among the Mingoes; their women continue their
usual work and remain in the house.

D In the wooing of a bride, custom demands that if an Indian
would proceed honorably and at the same time have assurance
584 that his wife when married will remain with him, he first sends
a present of blankets, strouds, linen and whatever else the
Indians commonly use for clothing and perhaps a few belts or
fathoms of wampum. If he has no cloth, wampum alone will
do. These things he gives to an Indian to whom he has declared
his purpose and who hands them to a friend of the person fixed
upon, speaks for him and presses his suit. Thereupon, the
friends assemble, examine the present, propose the matter to the
girl, who generally decides agreeably to the wish of her parents
and relations. The suitor is then informed that his proposal
has been accepted. If it is decided to decline the proposal, the
present is simply returned and understood to be a friendly negative.
In case the match is agreeable, the girl is led to the dwelling
of the groom, without further ceremony. After the bride
has joined her husband, the things constituting the present are
divided among the friends and the belts of wampum cut and a
piece given to each. The friends return the civility by a present
of Indian corn, beans, kettles, dishes, spoons, sieves, baskets,
D hatchets, brought in solemn procession into the hut of the newly
married couple. Commonly, the latter lodge in a friend's house
[591] until they can erect a dwelling of their own.

This custom still obtains among the Indians. Within the last years, however, disorderly living and evil have become so common that faith is not kept and many of the usages, that were

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

IROQUOIS NM9

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584 good and preserved a certain decency, have fallen into disuse. At the present time, even if the Indian would take a wife in honorable fashion and proceed in accordance with the above described custom, the parties concerned will not deny his suit in view of the presents, even though the friends and the girl are not willing to accept him. The friends will urge the girl to live with the man a short time, and tell her that if she is not pleased, to leave him again. Thus it happens that women will go from one to another for the sake of the gifts. Yet there are many cases where husband and wife are faithful to one another throughout life.

Occasionally, parents who have a son will agree with parents who have a daughter that in due time their children shall marry. As, however, they can neither persuade nor compel their children against their wishes, it in the end depends upon the children whether the match shall be consummated.[251]

I 584 Among the Mingoes it is not unusual to fix upon children of four or five years of age, with a view to future marriage. In this case the mother of the girl is obliged to bring a basket of bread every week into the house of the boy and to furnish him with firewood. The parents of the boy must supply the girl with meat and clothes, till they are both of a proper age. Their marriage, however, solely depends upon their own free will, for there is never any compulsion. If either man or woman is unwilling to follow up the engagement entered into by parents, no marriage results.

D 586 837 Although there are many Indians who live peaceably with their wives, especially if they have children for whom they care (for if a man has several children he will try to get along with his wife) the younger Indians at the present time generally live together only a very short time after a marriage. Hence, fornication is very common among them, Satan's influence in this respect being very strong.

D 177 If it is asked why the Indians at the present time are more given to vice and disorderly living than formerly, when they were as ignorant heathen as they are now, two reasons may be given. First, much evil unquestionably has been taught them by white people, especially the traders, who were content to live

177 among the Indians as long as there were no Indian wars. Through the examples of the traders, also the Indians acquired the habit of drinking to excess. Secondly, the Indians had formerly great respect for the aged and the chiefs, from whom they learned that unfaithfulness in the marriage relationship was a great crime and that whoever was guilty of such evil would live neither long nor happily. At the present time they show little reverence to the aged and each one thinks himself to be wise in his own conceits.

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844 The Indian women are in general of a very strong bodily constitution. There are generally clever and experienced women enough who are able to give assistance and advice in time of labor; generally, women will remain in the house at this time. Some go into the woods by themselves and bring their children to the house when they have seen the light of day. Most mothers nurse their children until they are two or more years
595 old. During this time many husbands have concubines, though not in the house.

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852 If it is left to the mother to give the child a name, she uses little ceremony and calls it after some peculiar mark or character in it, for instance the Beautiful, the Good Child, the Great-Eye, sometimes giving it a name of unsavory meaning. If the father gives the child a name he pretends that it has been suggested to him in a dream. The name is given at a sacrifice, on which occasion the Indian brings to some aged person, who performs the offering, a string of wampum, and tells him that he wishes his child's name to be named thus and so. During the sacrifice some other person sings a song in Indian fashion at a public gathering and makes known the child's name. This is called praying over the child. The same ceremony is performed when an adult person receives a name, even although he may already have been named. It is not common to call an adult by his name, for they are ashamed of their own names. If the attention of any one is to be attracted it is done in some other fashion than by the use of the name. In case of children, the names are used. In assemblies and in discourses they do not use the name of any one who is present, though absent persons are referred to by their names.

The children have entirely their own will and never do 855
anything by compulsion. Told to do something they do not care
about, the children let it go by default and are not reprimanded 861
for it. Yet many wellbred children are found among them who pay great attention and respect to parents and do things to please them. They are courteous, even to strangers. They respond to mild treatment. The contrary generally produces bitterness, hatred and contempt. The women are frequently guilty of thus raising their children to anger, for the women are often ill-tempered. By way of punishment, they will pour water on the children or thrust them into the water. The parents are careful not to beat their children, lest the children might remember it and revenge themselves on some future occasion. Instances are not wanting where children when grown have reproached their parents for corporal punishment received in youth and have threatened to return the indignity.

Rarely does an Indian have two or more wives, being fearful 582
of strife in the house. Blood relations do not marry; in this [595]
particular they are even more strict than the whites. They claim that division of the race into tribes came about in order to make it more readily certain that a man in taking a wife was not marrying a near relative. Concerning the tribes, however,
more will be said in another connection. An instance of an [588]
Indian having married a mother and her daughter at the same time was a most extraordinary thing.

Families have from four to six children. More than this 163
number is unusual. Birth of twins is rarely heard of. In many 597
cases children who have become motherless after birth have been reared by careful old women. Sometimes children are given to such women. Then they spare no pains in rearing them. Soup made of Indian corn, pounded very fine, is given by them to
infants of tender age, that may have come into their possession. [854]
Ordinarily, orphans, even if they have lost but the mother, meet with hard experience and often suffer want. Children who have been given or bequeathed, on the contrary, are almost without exception well cared for.

In the management of household affairs the husband leaves 593

593 everything to his wife and never interferes in things committed to her. She cooks victuals regularly twice a day. If she neglects to do it in proper time, or even altogether, the husband never says a word but goes to a friend, being assured that he
[574] will find something to eat, for when a stranger comes into the house the first attention shown is to put food before him, if there is anything in the house. The husband never offers to put wood on the fire, except it be that he has guests or some other extraordinary call to do it, for the woman cuts the wood and brings it to the house and is, therefore, the proper person to take care of the fire.

If his wife longs for meat, and gives him a hint of it, the husband goes out early in the morning without victuals and seldom returns without some game, should he even be obliged to stay out till late in the evening. When he returns with a deer, he throws it down before the door of the hut and walks in, saying nothing. But his wife, who has heard him lay down his burden, gives him something to eat, dries his clothes and then goes out to bring in the game. She may then do what she pleases with it. He says nothing, if she even gives the greatest
[224] part of it to her friends, which is a very common custom. A woman generally remembers her friends when meat has been secured, or when her husband has brought flour from the whites.

If the husband intends to take a journey or go hunting, he gives his wife notice, and then she knows that it is her business to furnish him with proper provisions. If any dissatisfaction arises between them, the husband commonly takes his gun and walks off into the woods, without telling his wife whither he is going. Sometimes he does not return for some days, when both parties have generally forgotten their quarrels and live again in peace.

Young people who marry rarely remain faithful to each
586 other, but join themselves to others and again separate, continu-
837 ing such disorderly living until they are older and more sensible. Then it not infrequently happens that they find one another again, or the husband may join himself permanently to some
582 other woman and settle down to housekeeping. Marriages are contracted early in life, when men are from eighteen to twenty years of age and women fourteen or fifteen.

years of age and women fourteen or fifteen. There is in gen- 000
eral no very strong tie between married people, not even between 593
the older. A mere trifle furnishes ground for separation. Not 762
every Indian, however, is indifferent to the light behavior of his
wife. Many a one takes her unfaithfulness so to heart that in
the height of his despair he swallows a poisonous root, which
generally causes death in two hours, unless an antidote be administered in good time; this is often done, the Indians knowing
that the properties of certain herbs counteract each other and
being able to judge from the effects, what poison has been taken.
Women, also, have been known to destroy themselves on account
of a husband's unfaithfulness. To prevent such a calamity, they 832
make use of a Beson, a love-charm, prepared by the old people
and sold at a good price. This is constantly carried about by
one or the other of the parties and is believed to keep man or
woman faithful. Such a charm is even declared to have had the
effect of making a woman run always and everywhere after her
husband, until weary of life she has destroyed herself, or of
similarly affecting a man. For this Beson, also, the Indians
have their antidote. All this converted Indians have related to
me.

Older men and women, particularly, have another Beson, 789
supposed to have the magic power of bringing many presents 791
to them. This charm they guard jealously among their most precious belongings, and is said to have the effect of bringing them
food, clothing and whatever else they may need. It is prepared
of roots pounded very fine, incantations being murmured meanwhile. A little of this preparation, about the size of a pea, is
sold with a white and black wampum shell for a considerable
price, often for a belt of wampum with several pounds in money.
The love charm and others are similarly prepared. Usually,
this is done by old women, who thus support themselves and
promote superstition among the young.

The men have a Beson for the chase. This beson is a prep- 224
aration made by old men, who are no more able to hunt, consist- 789
ing of roots and herbs or made of the seeds of a certain plant. 887
This is sold by them at a high price. They may earn much in
this way, for every huntsman carries such a charm about in his

224 pocket. Thus the old men support themselves when they can no
1789 longer engage in the chase. As there are several sorts of charm
of this character, every one is desirous to get the best, even if
[887] he has already at the price of half the catch of a season bought
one charm and if it should cost him the greater part of his property to get the new one of which he has heard. Some Indians chew a certain root when on the deer-hunt, so the deer may not notice their approach when the wind blowing over the Indian to the game would otherwise give the alarm.

Another kind of Beson, considered to be a more powerful charm, is taken inwardly and occasions violent vomiting, but this is not in common use. According to the opinion of the Indians this beson will prove mischievous and have a contrary effect unless every ceremony connected with its use is attended to with the most scrupulous exactness. If a huntsman shoots nothing for several days, he swallows a small dose, observing all the rules prescribed by magic art. Not having taken any food he then starts on the chase and does not return before evening unless he has secured some game. It is claimed that the use of this charm enables them to shoot deer in considerable numbers. I have observed, however, that Indians have repeatedly taken such doses
[777] during a period of three weeks and not been successful. In
such cases ill-luck is ascribed to some other cause, frequently to the presence of a missionary. In cases where Indians, unable to secure anything in spite of the use of this beson while I was present have been successful in my absence, it has appeared that my presence has in some way interfered with their incantations.
[1787] In connection with the chase they lay much stress on dreams. If
the dreamer fancies he sees an Indian and hears him say, "If thou will sacrifice to me, thou shalt shoot deer at pleasure," he will immediately prepare a sacrifice and burn the whole or part of a deer in honor of the apparition.

Occasionally, when an Indian would go hunting for a season, he will by way of preparation shoot a deer or two, bring home the flesh and prepare a feast, which is at the same time a sacrifice, to which the aged are invited. The latter pray for him that he may be fortunate and then he departs to stay away some time.

The Delaware Indians use no other than rifle-barrelled guns, D 411
having satisfied themselves that these are the best for shooting
at long range, in which they are very skillful and shooting accurately.
They have acquired considerable skill in making minor
repairs when their weapons get out of order. Some have even
learned to furnish them with stocks, neatly and well made. An
Indian really intent on making something will not spare pains
or time in accomplishing his purpose even when he has not seen
the thing made and takes great pride in the work of his hands.
Among nations living farther inland the rifle-barrelled guns are
rare and muskets are more commonly found, often in very poor S
condition, except among the Shawanose [Shawanese] who know [411]
and value the rifle-barrelled gun.

It occurs to me to add that when a man and his wife have D
no children, they generally separate before long, each believing 586
the other to be the guilty cause, and attributing it to the other.
There are also women who never have children. Such a one
goes from one man to another until some man who has children
already takes her. There are men also who never have children.
In both sexes, however, these cases are rare.

Cursing and swearing are never heard among the Indians; D
they have no words of this character in their language. If women 578
or men would berate one another — rarely the case among
men, except in case of the younger, more frequent among
women — they direct words and speeches at one another which
would not be considered terrible by other people but are very
seriously taken by the Indians. If they would revile one another
in extremest fashion, they use some obscene expressions.

Mothers carry the children on their backs under the blanket. D
They do this even when the children are five years old and over, 854
for they love their children. In former days it was the custom [482]
to bind the child upon a board which was carried by means of a
band fastened round the head in such a way that the child was
suspended on the back in an upright position. This practice gets
more and more out of fashion, for the reason that it has been the
cause of miserable death of the children. It was customary that
children thus fastened were placed against a bench or elsewhere,

854 the mother going to fetch water or on some other errand. The
children by pushing and kicking not infrequently tumbled them-
selves into the fire or other danger and thus miserably perished,
or were severely burned. For this reason the custom is in dis-
favor.

Their houses are fairly clean, some being superior in this
342 respect and affording a comfortable night's lodging for a
[574] European. In case a guest is expected, especially if it be a white
[356] person, they prepare as comfortable a bed as possible. They
sweep the bunk, that serves as seat and table in the daytime and
as bed at night, and spread a mat with one or more deer or bear
[352] skins upon it. Though usually a comfortable couch in summer
time it may be made very uncomfortable by the fleas brought in
by dogs. Their kettles, dishes and spoons are not kept in good
order; sometimes they are only licked by the dogs in lieu of
washing. Dishes and spoons they make themselves of wood,
[415 sometimes of tree knots or growths, often very neatly. The
322] spoons are generally large and round shaped. Occasionally, a
spoon will be used by several people, turn about, at a meal.
Brass kettles, to be found in most houses because very necessary
for sugar boiling, are bought from the whites.

291 The Indians are lovers of finery and dress, the women more
than the men; the latter take care that the women adorn them-
selves in proper manner. The men clothe themselves rather
meanly, regarding it as a disgrace to be better appareled than
their wives. The dress which particularly distinguishes the wo-
men is a petticoat or strowd, blue, red or black, made of a piece
of cloth about two yards long, adorned with red, blue or yellow
bands laid double and bound about the body. Many women wear
a white shirt over the strowd, decorated with silver buckles, the
more the better. Red or blue leggings are worn, made of fine
cloth joined by a broad band of silk bordered with coral. These
leggings reach only to the feet. Shoes are made very neatly.
Over the first strowd they may wear another, not decorated with
ribbons, which if it inconveniences them in their movements may
be easily laid aside. Thus clad a woman is well dressed. In
[296] place of the white shirts, blue linen or cotton may be worn. When
[386] they wear a white shirt, which is preferably of fine linen, it is
often died red with cinnabar about the neck.

often dyed red with cinnabar about the neck. Such a shirt may 291
be worn unwashed until it is torn. More careful women, how- 296
ever wash their clothing. Men and women paint their faces
almost daily, especially if they go out to a dance in the evening. 301
Men, particularly, think it is proper to paint and often their 302
whole head is colored vermillion.[255] Here and there black spots
may be introduced, or they paint one-half of their head and face
black, the other red. Figures are added according to taste.[256]
Indian women never paint their faces with a variety of figures,
but rather make a round red spot upon each cheek and redden the
eyelids, the tops of their heads and, in some cases, the rims of
the ears and the temples.[257] Older women adorn themselves 291
but rarely, usually appearing in old cast-off garments. Even 888
if the husband of such a woman provides new clothing, she will
rarely put it on, especially if she has a daughter to whom she
gives the new clothing in exchange for old garments.

Their towns are generally laid out near a lake, river or 361
brook, yet sufficiently elevated to escape the danger of inunda-
tions, which are very common in spring. In building towns no
regular plan is observed but every one builds according to his
fancy. The houses are not built close together. Some years ago, 361
when the Delawares planned Gochachgünk, they wished to imi- 313
tate the Christian Indians and build their town in orderly fash-
ion but they did not succeed, even though they had laid it out.
When they have lived long in one place, it at last becomes trou-
blesome to secure wood for fuel because all the wood in the
neighborhood has been used. This causes them to leave the
place and plan a new village for the sake of the wood and other
conveniences. Although they have horses that roam about and
are rarely used except when they wish to ride, it is too trouble-
some for them to break these to work and, furthermore, since
fetching wood is the work of the women, the men do not con-
cern themselves about it.

Of inheritances they know nothing. Every Indian knows 428
that whatever he leaves at his death is divided among his friends.
If a woman becomes a widow, no matter how long she may have
lived with her husband, friends come, take everything that be-

428 longed to the man, and bring it to one place. The friends do not keep a single article, for they wish to forget the dead and are afraid lest the smallest part of the property of the deceased should remind them of him. They give what the deceased has left to their friends and no one of his friends receives anything; even though he should wish to take something he will not do it through fear of the others. If a dying Indian leaves his gun or any other trifle to a particular friend the legatee is immediately put in possession and no one disputes his right. The widow gets nothing, yet whatever the husband has given to his wife during his life-time remains her property. Therefore we need not wonder that a married Indian pair should not have their goods in common, for otherwise the wife would be left wholly destitute after her husband's death. In like manner the husband inherits nothing when his wife dies.

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587 According to ancient custom a widow should not marry again within a year after the death of her husband, for the Indians say that he does not forsake her before that time. At the end of this period, however, they believe that his soul goes to its place. A widow must endeavor to live by her own industry. She is not permitted to purchase any meat, for the Indians are superstitiously persuaded that their guns fail if a widow should eat of the game they have killed. Now and then a kind friend will venture to transgress the rule and give her some meat secretly. As soon as the first year of her widowhood is passed, the friends of the deceased husband clothe and provide for her and her children. They also propose another husband if they know of a desirable party, or, at least, tell her that she is now at liberty to choose for herself. If, however, she has not attended to the prescribed rule but married within the year, they 626 never trouble themselves about her again except, perhaps, to speak evil of her.

If a man's wife die, her relatives pretend to have some claim upon him until a year has passed. If he has remained a widower during that time they generally secure him a wife, preferring a sister of the departed, if one be living.

764 The burying places are at some distance from the towns. Before they had hatchets and other tools they used to line the

inside of a grave with the bark of trees and when the corpse was 764
let down they placed some pieces of wood across, which were again covered with bark and then the earth thrown in. When they were able to split boards they placed them, not, however, joined in any way, in the grave in such a manner that the corpse might be between them. A fourth board was laid over it as a cover. Now they have learned to make proper coffins. The [887]
graves are generally dug by old women as the young people abhor this kind of work. The coffin is made by men and placed in the grave. Then the corpse is brought, dressed in new clothing and a white shirt, with the face and shirt painted red, laid upon a new mat and let down into the grave. They cover the body with the strowd and nail up the coffin. Formerly it was the custom to place the pouch, tobacco, pipe, knife, fire material, kettle and hatchet in the grave but this is no longer done. They also fill up the grave with earth, which was not done in former times. The graves are all arranged in such a manner that the head was turned to the east and the feet to the west. At the head of the corpse a tall post is erected, pointing out who is buried. If the deceased was a chief this post is neatly carved 766
but not otherwise decorated. If it was a Captain the post is painted red and his head and glorious deeds are portrayed upon it. The burial post of a physician is hung with a small tortoise shell which he used in his juggling practice. In honor of a great warrior his warlike deeds are exhibited in red color on the burial post.

In the evening soon after sunset and in the morning before 764
daybreak the female relations and friends assemble in the house of the deceased and mourn over the body. This is done until he is buried. All the effects of the deceased are piled up near the body. These are taken to the place of burial and the greater part is distributed among those who assisted in burying the dead. The rest is given to the friends present, each receiving a share. During the letting down of the corpse into the grave the women set up a deafening howl. Men deem it a shame to weep, [152]
yet in silence and unobserved they often cannot refrain from tears. After the ceremony is over the mother, grandmother or 765
other near female relative of the deceased goes evening and

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7
Nanticoke NM11

D 765 morning to the grave and weeps over it. This is repeated daily for some time but gradually less and less till the mourning period is over. Sometimes they place victuals on the grave that the deceased may not suffer hunger. The food thus left is generally consumed by dogs.

N 764 The Nantikoks [Nantikokes] of whom more in another place, have this singular custom that about three or four months after the funeral they open the grave, take out the bones, clean them of the flesh and dry them, wrap them up in new linen and inter them again. A feast is usually provided for the occasion, consisting of the best they can afford. Only the bones of the arms and legs of the corpse are thus treated. All the rest is buried or burned.

D 626 181 The Indians are a free people, knowing neither law nor restraint. They may not be prevailed on in any matter that does not please them, much less forced. If they cannot be persuaded with gentle words, further effort is in vain.

D 361 Each of them may settle where he pleases. Not satisfied with one place, an Indian may move to a town with which he is better pleased and no one offers any objection; or he may retire to a solitary place. Rarely will a family move far away from all society, though they frequently live apart from the towns to avoid being annoyed by drunkards; or they live thus alone in order to carry on the profitable traffic in rum more to
D 439 their advantage. Many engage in rum traffic, especially women, who fetch it from the white people and sell at a considerable profit to the Indians, often taking from the latter everything they have, sometimes even their rifles on which they depend for subsistence. Chiefs and counsellors have often considered what might be done to stop this ruinous trade, and have often determined that no one should ever bring spirituous liquors into their towns again; for a time such a resolution would be kept, and then be broken, perhaps by the very ones who had counselled the prohibition. Since the Indians have taken so much to drink-
D 682 672 ing rum, murders are more frequent. Murder committed in drunkenness is not severely punished. Hence, it is that one harboring hatred for another will, on the occasion of a drinking

672 682 orgy, put him out of the way, pretending to be very drunk and not capable of judging of the nature of his deed. Under such circumstances, according to ancient usage, the murderer must pay a hundred fathoms of wampum for the murder of a man and two hundred for that of a woman. If he is too poor to raise the amount, which is commonly the case, his friends help to raise it and turn it over to the relatives of the slain, at the same time delivering a speech. If any one has murdered his own relative, he usually escapes without difficulty, for the family can easily find reason for the deed, not wishing to lose two of their friends at once. Should a murderer not feel himself safe, he goes to another region or town where he is a stranger.

685 588 In case of theft, which is held as a disgrace among them, nothing further is required than that the thief must restore what he has stolen, pay for it or give something in exchange. If justice cannot be satisfied in one of these ways, because the thief has nothing, loss falls on the party robbed, or the friends of the thief, if such he has, must make good the loss.

224 888 When a whole party goes out to hunt, they govern themselves according to the wishes of the oldest or the most expert, particularly if he be a member of the council. It is not considered good form for one to leave the party before the end of the hunt. If one has wounded a deer and another followed and killed it, the skin belongs to the first and either the half or the whole of the meat to the latter. If several take aim at once and they cannot determine which of them made the best shot, the skin is given to the oldest of the party, or, if he happened to be one of those taking aim, he is said to have killed the animal. Old men, therefore, no longer able to shoot well, generally get their share of the skins, if they only aim now and then with the others though they do not hit the mark.

Such old men, accompanying a hunting party, get both meat and skins, for the good hunters will not let them return empty-handed. They have, in general, and the Unami in particular, the custom that when a huntsman has shot a deer, and another Indian joins him or only looks on at a distance, he immediately gives him the whole animal and goes in pursuit of another.

426 If a debtor is unable to pay, the creditor duns his friends, 672 who must pay and rarely refuse to do so. Occasionally, the debts of friends must be paid years after they were contracted, even after the death of the debtor, if only the debt can be proven.

685 A purchaser, dissatisfied with what he has bought or the price paid, is allowed to return what he has purchased and recover what was paid. One who has done an injury, killed a hog or chicken or occasioned loss in some other way, and obstinately refuses to make good the injury, cannot be touched. His friends may make good the loss. Should the offender, in the long run, not heed the admonitions of his friends, they will drive him away.

721 Hence, it is that in wars with whites practically all the tribes have been involved more or less. If the nation, as such, has taken no part in the war, these unmanageable offenders have gone with the fighting peoples, despite the warnings and threats of the chiefs. The same is true of the present conflict.[236] The Delaware chiefs had determined at its beginning to remain neutral, daily admonishing their people not to allow themselves to be persuaded to go into the war. The nation as such remained true to the determination of the chiefs, being constantly and earnestly watched, but obstinate offenders took part against all order and command.

619 Though the Indians are a free people and not subject to the rule of any one, each nation, considering itself a unit, has a kind of government of its own choosing, imperfect as it may be. This holds good of all the North American nations. A nation is constituted of three principal Tribes, the first or leading tribe is called *Packoango*, i. e., the tribe of the great Tortoise, the second, *Blem*, the Turkey Tribe, the third, *Ptucksit*, the Wolf 622 Tribe. Each of the tribes has its chief and each chief his coun- 623 sellors. The chief of the Tortoise Tribe is the first in rank and, together with the other two chiefs, deals with all matters of national interest, particularly, such as have reference to nations with whom, according to treaty, friendly relations are to be cultivated. A chief may not presume to rule over the people, as in that case he would immediately be forsaken by the whole tribe, and his counsellors would refuse to assist him. He must

ingratiate himself with the people and stand by his counsellors. 622
Hence, it is that the chiefs are generally friendly, gracious, hos- 623
pitable, communicative, affable and their house is open to every
Indian. Even strangers who come on business put up in the
chief's house and are accommodated with the best it affords.
The ambassadors of other nations generally lodge with the chief 648
and they are well cared for. If their number is too great, and it 622
has happened in connection with weighty affairs concerning 623
several nations that ten or twenty men of other nations have
arrived at the principal chief's house, they are put into a separate house and provided with every thing at the public expense, the counsellors taking care that they are entertained most hospitably in order that the nation may be in good repute amongst other nations.

In externals a chief has no advantages above others. He 622
must provide for his own maintenance, for no one is under any obligation to supply his wants. His wife, whose duty it is to provide sufficient corn for the year, is usually assisted by other women in her plantations, for much corn is required in such a house. If the chief is young and able to hunt he will, his official duties permitting, occasionally join the chase. He will even secure his own firewood as far as possible. In case he is old his friends, of whom there are usually many, and other Indians will furnish him with game, especially if he be popular.

The council house is either the house of the chief, which is 623
commonly large and roomy, or a building erected for that pur- [344]
pose. Here public councils are held, that is, such where messages which have arrived from whites or other Indians are published. Every one may listen and the messages are also discussed. In case there is something of particular importance to consider, only the chief and the counsellors assemble and determine upon the matter. The old chief Netawatwes[209] used to lay all affairs of state before his council for consideration. When they gave him their opinion, he either approved of it or indicated what was missing or not correct in the speech, upon which they would make the necessary amendments. Thus he kept
them active and was held in great esteem. 211

The chief has the council bag in his possession, as also the 217
622

211 217 treaties that have been made with the governors of the provinces and other documents, although they are not able to read. 622 These constitute the archives, where all messages and reports are kept. With each message or speech there are one or more strings or belts of wampum. These, with the message or speech after the latter have been properly considered and answered, are deposited 202 in the archives.[200] 211 In connection with such a message there may be a string or belt to each point, for as soon as the deliverer 623 of a message has finished with a point he gives over a string or belt to the chief, gets out another and continues to speak until his message has been fully delivered when he announces that he has done. If the strings and belts are handed about from one to another in the council this is an indication that the message is being favorably received. It may happen, however, that the chief does not take the belt into his hands but pushes it to one side with a stick, in which case no one will touch it. The messenger who has brought it must in this case take it back. This signifies that his message does not find approbation and it is accounted a disgrace. Such a rejected belt may be a war belt summoning the people to war, or it may be a belt admonishing them to maintain peace, or something else that is not agreeable may be required.

211 [439] The wampum which Europeans make and barter to the Indians is made of sea-mussel shells. One variety is quite white, the other dark violet, a quarter of an inch in length, an eighth of an inch in thickness and round. A hole is bored lengthwise through each shell, large enough to admit a heavy cord. They are strung like beads. Wampum constitutes the [435] money of the Indians. Two hundred shells cost a buck hide, or a Spanish dollar.[201] Before the white people came they had no such wampum for want of proper instruments to make it.[202] The white are a little less in value than the dark.

Strings are made of the beads that have been strung as described. Two, four or six placed side by side and properly fastened form a string. A string is usually half a yard long, 202 sometimes longer. 211 Upon delivery of a string a long speech may be made and much said upon the subject under consideration.

202

But when a belt is given few words are spoken, and they must 211 be words of great importance, frequently requiring an explanation. Belts are of pure wampum worked in all manner of clever forms by the Indian women, they being informed in each case what the figures must be, inasmuch as the figures must correspond with the message. A belt is three or four inches broad and about a yard long.[263] Neither color nor the other quantities of wampum are matters of indifference, but have an immediate reference to those things which they are meant to confirm. A white string of belt signifies a good message and such a belt may have figures in dark wampum. If a treaty is 648 to be made or renewed with another nation the message is commonly accompanied by a Road Belt. This is a white belt with two rows of black wampum running the entire length with a white row between the two black rows also running the entire length of the belt. This signifies that the way from one nation to another has been cleared of all brush, trees and stones. At the ends of the belt the two nations are likewise represented by two small dark spots. If a string or belt of wampum is intended to confirm a warning against evil or an earnest reproof the belt delivered is in black. When a nation is called upon to go to war or war declared against it the belt is black or marked with red, having in the middle the figure of an hatchet in white wampum. A peace belt is quite white, a fathom long and a hand broad and of not inconsiderable value.

A chief has more use for the white wampum than the black. 623 In particular cases and upon extraordinary occasions a voluntary 211 contribution of wampum is made by the whole tribe or nation. 556 The rich are considered as principal supporters of the chiefs and furnish them with wampum in an emergency, which rarely occurs more than once in three years. The usual expenses are defrayed from the treasury chest of the council, which is never empty, because when wampum is paid out usually an equal amount comes in. In general the chief does not speak in coun- 624 cil, but has his speaker to whom he communicates his sentiments briefly and leaves him to expatiate on them. The latter must be able to put the whole matter in a speech well arranged, which requires a clear and open understanding, a faithful mem-

624 ory, experience in the affairs of the state and a knowledge of the formal language employed in council, which differs as much from the common language as does the language used by the whites in legal procedure, from the language of ordinary intercourse.

202 When a message is to be sent, this is entrusted to two or more messengers. One of these is to be the speaker, the others being ready to remind him of anything he might forget. A message is formally entrusted to ambassadors at a meeting of the Council. It is repeated a number of times and the one appointed speaker of the messengers must in turn repeat it several times, until he is able to deliver the message with facility and in proper form. The messengers are then fitted out with necessaries for the journey and dispatched. As the whole of a message is to be delivered verbally, a speaker must be a sensible and reliable man. Young men, destined for such service, are admitted as hearers to the council, where they may learn much. Any one employed as messenger is held in high regard. They must be young men, of great endurance on the march, who will not be stopped by bad weather or high waters. On occasions of extreme importance, as in time of war, messengers may have to be on the march night and day, finding their way in the darkest night on paths that a white man could scarce follow in daytime.

623 The council meetings are as quiet and orderly as if they were acts of devotion. Noises, talking and laughing are not heard, even though the young may be present. All pay strict attention to the speaker. The counsellors are called together by a servant and when they appear, they welcome one another, [276] shake hands and express their joy at meeting. Each brings pouch, pipe and they smoke a considerable amount of tobacco that has been mixed with dried and crushed sumac leaves. Women are never admitted to the council; in matters of public [562] interest they may stand about the house and listen, and they account it an honor when they are admitted, to hand victuals and keep up the fire. Provisions must always be in plenty in the council-house, for eating and deliberating alternate.

The principal chief, either himself or through a speaker, sets forth the subjects that shall engage the attention of the

623 council in a solemn speech. If the subjects are of great importance all who take part in the discussion stand as they speak. Each counsellor has the liberty to utter his sentiments and having made his speech, sits down. No one interrupts the speaker but all sit silent and attentive as if engaged in an act of devotion. The speeches are delivered in a pleasing manner and the words of the speakers flow as readily as if they were read from a manuscript. Whoever visits such an assembly, whether white man or savage Indian, cannot but be profoundly impressed.

623 211 [521] A subject is often very thoroughly and extendedly discussed. The chiefs and counsellors in turn give their opinions and suggestions. When all have spoken, one of them is called upon to sum up the principal parts of all the speeches in a concise manner. This is done extempore and the necessary amendments proposed, every subject being brought into as short and comprehensive statement as possible. Before deliberations begin, the strings and belts of wampum must be placed in due order, for whatever is said without being confirmed by them is considered vain and without effect. They are so accustomed to this that when they communicate the contents of a message, merely in private conversation, they cannot do so without something in their hands, a strap, a ribbon or a blade of grass. Holding some such thing in his hand the speaker will recount the points in proper order as with the strings or belts of wampum thereto belonging.

623 195 When chiefs are compelled to give answer to a proposition of which they do not approve, but which they have consented to consider because they did not wish openly to offer an affront, they are able to frame their reply in so figurative and equivocal a style as to allow of almost any desired interpretation or application. Those who receive such an answer, know as little after the reply has been given as before, but are ashamed to ask further, lest they should be regarded as stupid and because chiefs are supposed to understand everything.

648 When treaty of peace is made with another nation it is determined that it shall last as long as sun and moon shine or rise and set, as long as the stars are in the heavens and the rivers

648 and waters flow. In this connection, nations who make the treaty, or are allies, exchange a pipe between them which is called the pipe of peace. Such a pipe is carefully preserved and [illegible] generally lighted in council by a captain or chief, whenever any-645 thing occurs relating to the ally and each member smokes a little out of it. The one who carries about the pipe reminds the members of the council of the covenant and the time of its establishment. The head of the pipe is commonly of stone, the stem of wood wound with a fine ribbon neatly decorated with white corals, the latter the work of the women.

It is the duty of the chief to maintain peace, to advise peace [illegible] as long as possible. It is not in his power to begin war as long [illegible] as the captains are averse to this. Without their consent he may not accept a war belt. If it is received this is on condition that he will turn it over to the captains for consideration. The chief must endeavor to preserve peace to the utmost of his power. If the captains are unanimous in declaring war he is obliged, as it were, to deliver the care of his people for the time being into their hands, for they are the warriors.

In the matter of choice of a chief various things are to be 622 observed. The principal captain may choose a chief and inaugurate him, and it is also in his power to take him out of office if the chief proves a poor regent, acts contrary to the customs, does according to his own wishes and refuses to accept counsel. The captains, who always have the people on their side may thus forsake a chief, not only refusing to support him but even publicly announcing that they do not agree with him, and thus his power is at an end. The chief must always be a member of that tribe in which he presides. The sons of a chief cannot inherit their father's dignity, for the reason that they are not and cannot be, according to established usages, members of the tribe, [illegible] inasmuch as children do not inherit tribal rights from the father but from the mother.[205] No Indian will marry a person in his own tribe, as he is too closely related to all in it. Herein, the Indians allege, is to be found the reason for the existence of the tribes. Were it not for these, they could not be quite sure whether persons to be married are near relatives or not. Hence, [illegible] it is, also, that children are considered the property of the wife.

If a divorce takes place they follow the mother. Those that 586 are grown up may stay with the father if they please. Herein again is to be found reason for the conduct of parents towards their children. They never oppose their inclinations in order not to lose their affection. Parents never know how soon they may be separated, and both parties, in that event, fearing desertion by their children, are very desirous of gaining and retaining their love and affection. The Indians, therefore, regard their wives as strangers. It is a common saying among them, "My wife is not my friend," that is, she is not related to me and I am not concerned about her, she is only my wife. This satanic notion it is very difficult to uproot.

To return again to the matter of selection of a chief; as 622 his sons cannot, for the reasons named, succeed him, a great grandchild or nephew may become chief, that is, either his daughter's daughter's son or his sister's son, so that the privilege of becoming Chief cannot be confined to too intimate relationship.

The principal duty of the first chief is to maintain the peace and covenants made between his people and the other Indian nations and the Europeans as also to carry on a kind of correspondence with them, all of which is generally done with the advice and consent of the chiefs of the Turkey and Wolf tribes, unless they are absent. It is further the particular duty of the principal chief to see to it that nothing is neglected and when necessary to send embassies. Finding that it is necessary to take action in some matter he summons the council, submits the subject and lets them deliberate which often demands of them much thought and attention. Another of his duties is that of keeping the people together and preventing any unnecessary dispersion. Much depends, therefore, on whether a chief is beloved of his people. Where this is lacking the Indians are like a swarm of bees without a queen bee. A chief must prevent all disorders in his town, have an eye to justice, and seek to do away with strife with the aid of his counsellors. But he may not seek to do this by force or severity but only by calm reasoning and friendly exhortation. Usually, the Indians are amenable to good words. In a general way the Indians pay due honor and respect to their chiefs, though there are some who

622 are moved neither by fear of men nor of God; fortunately there are few such.

[273] Strong drink occasions much disorder in the Indian towns.[266] If a chief is himself an abstainer, he may accomplish much against this evil, but he must be ever watchful and not tire in his efforts.

[428] At the death of a chief neither his children, wife, nor relatives inherit his possessions. Everything is distributed among the people except the wampum and belts, which belong to the chief in his official capacity, and the Council Bag. These are preserved and turned over to his successor in office. In general, some person who lived in intimacy with the deceased chief, and is well acquainted with the affairs of state is chosen to be his successor. It is generally agreed that such and such an one is the right person to assume the dignity of chief. If he is discreet and wins the favor of the captains and the people, the former in particular, will support him in every possible
624 way. A captain, such as White Eye [267] was, is the Chief's right hand. He must undertake everything ordered of him by the chief, even at the hazard of his life. To show fear would not be in harmony with his dignity and a disgrace. If he is wounded or killed by the enemy, the whole nation joins in avenging his death, taking injury done him as seriously as if it concerned the person of the chief. This the captains are aware of and it gives them courage.

728 A captain has no more right to conclude peace than a chief to begin war.[268] If peace is offered to a captain, when he is in the enemy's country, he can give no other answer than that he will bring the proposal to the notice of the chief, for as a warrior he cannot make peace, and that in due time reply will be given. If the chief inclines to peace, he, as it were, assumes his office again, exerts his power, takes the matter out of the hands of the captain and desires him to sit down, which signifies declaring a truce. The hatchet is taken out of the captain's hand and he is obliged to cease from hostilities and keep his men quiet. The chief knowing that inactivity is not agreeable to the captain, asks his assistance in the negotiations and generally chooses him to be the messenger of peace to the

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

nations. By such a commission an accession of honor and respect is acquired by the captain. So soon as he gives up the tomahawk, his men must cease from hostile acts and demonstrations. 728

The rank of captain is neither elective nor hereditary. First 624
intimation of this honor comes usually in a dream, early in
life, one or another having seen a buffalo, a bear or other 787
ferocious animal, or he has seen in a vision an Indian who 861
spoke with him and gave him the necessary gifts. Such a dream is pondered over and related to friends and usually interpreted as destiny for the office of Captain. The dreamer's imagination leads him to believe that nothing may injure him and that no bullet can harm him. He, therefore, endeavors to attain to the necessary qualifications for this dignity and prove his powers for he must be tested, as will appear presently. Occasionally, boys are prepared and instructed for this position. These are given little to eat, are made to fast often and long, so that their bodies become emaciated, their minds deranged and their dreams wild and extravagant. Frequent questions are put to them when in this condition as to the dreams they have had. So long as they have not dreamt or not dreamt the right thing, the process is continued until they have been reduced to skin and bones, when they usually have or pretend to have a
fantastic dream, declared to be ominous. The subject being 624
minutely considered and interpreted by their teachers, they are solemnly informed what will be their future destination. By virtue of these extraordinary revelations they become physicians, great hunters, rich men, *Mantewits,* that is, sorcerers, or captains. The impression thus made on their minds is lasting, and as they grow older they earnestly strive to fulfill their destination, believing themselves to be men of peculiar gifts, far in advance of the others. It is not enough to profess to be destined for the dignity of a captain. The claim must be made good. The candidate must be resolute, brave, fearless, even in greatest danger. If a leader, who has not the rank of captain, has the good fortune not to lose a man of his troop in six or seven engagements and to bring scalps and prisoners to the camp, he is recognized and honored as a captain forthwith. If he loses

624 a man he must secure a prisoner in his place. Should he lose more than one, responsibility weighs the more heavily upon him, and in default of showing an equal number of prisoners, his authority is at an end and he dare not think of continuing in the office. If an Indian loses his son, or one of his near relatives in war, whom he has highly valued, he gives a belt of wampum to a captain and desires him to go and take a prisoner to supply the place of the deceased. He takes his company into the enemy's country, and if he is fortunate in his exploit, immediately hangs the belt around the prisoner's neck to denote that he shall be received into a family and that his life is safe. Upon delivering the prisoner to his employer, the captain receives the belt as a reward, and the prisoner is adopted by the family as a son or near relative. But if he is unsuccessful or has been so unfortunate as to lose a man, the captain's standing is destroyed and he is disgraced. It depends, therefore, in large degree upon good fortune whether a man becomes or remains captain. There are never very many captains in one tribe, but always some.

721 Although a chief is not supposed to have much to do with war, his influence tends greatly either to prevent or encourage the commencement of a war, for the Indians believe that a war cannot be successful without the consent of the chief, and the captains endeavor on that account to live in harmony with him. It is not a light matter for the Indians to begin a war, as it might be among the Europeans, for a war having been begun it is not easy to bring it to an end nor to be reconciled to the enemies. The chief reason for this is that a certain number are killed on both sides and these, according to ancient custom, must be replaced by prisoners. War with the whites is a different matter, for the Indians usually secure more than enough of scalps and prisoners to make up their losses, and they may sue for peace at any time even while continuing hostilities. But with the nations of their own color they cannot do this, for they know that they will be punished by enemies who will avenge themselves in the cruelest manner.

701 The warriors consist of the young men, among whom, however, are those of fifty years and over. The warriors are under

the command of the captains, especially in times of war, and do 701
nothing without their consent. They neither leave the troop nor go hunting, as they know that their life and honor in a great measure depends upon the prudent conduct of their captains, and they obey them with pleasure. The night previous 721
to the march of the army is spent in feasting, at which the
chiefs are present, a hog, if procurable, being killed for the 535
occasion. After the feast the captain and his people begin the war dance and continue till daybreak when they are quite hoarse and weary. Sometimes they dance in turn, each taking the head of the hog in his hand; again all dance together. Spectators are admitted, and may even join in the dance. Sometimes instead of a hog a couple of dogs are killed, not because dog's
flesh is a delicacy, for the Indian dogs are very lean, but because [262]
it is said to inspire them with the true spirit of war and murder. I have even seen women partake of this feast, eating the dog's flesh with great greediness. I have steadily and courteously refused to partake when invited. The war dance having been
completed they march out on the following day. The captain 726
leads and his men follow in single file. When they reach the end of the street, they fire their pieces one after another and the captain begins the war song. As both their friends and the women generally accompany them to the first night's encampment, they halt about two or three miles from the town, dance the war dance once more, and the day following begin the march proper.

As they commonly have a long and tedious journey into the enemies' land, their provisions are soon exhausted. They are then obliged to spend some days in hunting. No one enjoys any precedence during the march, not even the captain. They divide their provisions in equal shares, even if each man should get only a mouthful of bread or spoonful of meat. When they reach Indian towns with which they are at peace provisions are given them. They never go out in large parties but usually in small companies of ten or twenty, in order that they may not suffer so much for want of provisions. The captain is very attentive to the condition of his troop being answerable for all his men. If but a few are weary he orders all to halt till they

926 have recovered. As soon as they enter the enemies' country they can hunt no longer for fear of being betrayed. They provide themselves, therefore, with provisions for several days and watch their opportunity. Occasionally they must lie in hiding many days until their purpose is attained. As soon as the deed has been accomplished, they hurry away, exercising the greatest caution inasmuch as they know that they will be pursued and 927 may themselves suffer injury. Those whom they kill are scalped and the scalps taken home. Prisoners secured are bound and led away and kept bound until they are no more in fear of pursuers. Thereafter the prisoners' fetters are loosed during the day. During the night they are fastened by their feet to a stake so split as to admit one leg, this stake being fastened to another that is driven into the ground. If one of them is wounded the warriors apply remedies which they carry with them on their expeditions and generally succeed in restoring them. Often the wounded must be carried, and if it is at all possible to get them away they are not left to perish. They even carry off their dead, or at least their scalps, or bury the dead lest they should fall into the hands of their enemies. In a skirmish with the whites they generally remove their dead, which makes it hard to determine how many have been killed in action.[200] They generally return from a war in a half-starved state, which is not to be wondered at because of the hard experiences they have gone through, especially on the return. On the return march they are constantly in fear, not knowing which night their enemies may fall upon them, hence they proceed by forced marches until they know themselves to be out of danger. Occasionally, they are attacked at night or at break of day, when they sometimes succeed in saving life by flight, leaving their weapons and everything else behind. Thus deprived, they may be able to travel several hundred miles until they arrive in the territory of peaceful nations where they again find sustenance. They generally suffer excessive hunger and fatigue by the way, living upon the bark of trees, wild herbs and roots. Much of this they do not have to fear when engaged in war with whites, for these will not pursue them for any great distance. Cases have been known where the Indians have attacked

and stormed a small fort and taken forty or fifty men, women and children prisoners and not lost a man. The prisoners they led into the woods a short distance, divided into two parties preserving the more ablebodied and tomahawking the rest before their eyes. The little children that cried and wailed were dashed against the trees, so that the brains stuck to the bark. They are thus barbarous when victorious, and similar examples have been multiplied in times of war.

Prisoners are not ill-treated as long as they are in the hands of the warriors but fare with them alike. They have so much the more to suffer in the towns of the victorious people. The warriors, upon their approach to the town, repeat the death whoop according to the number of scalps, trophies or prisoners in their possession. Upon this signal, men, women and children run out to meet them, placing themselves in two rows. The warriors with their prisoners, whom they lead bound by their arms, march between the two rows and halt. The scalps they carry on poles held aloft and painted red, and the prisoners are forced to dance for the amusement of the spectators. The dance over they are ordered to go to a house which they see before them in the village. As soon as they set out the people begin to strike at them with switches, clubs, hatchets or their fists. If they gain the house, though ever so bruised and bloody, they are perfectly safe. Indians acquainted with this barbarous custom, if they are not old men, escape a great part of these cruelties by running towards the mark with all their might. Female prisoners are frequently rescued by the women who take them between their ranks and carry them to the town. I have witnessed both practices. As soon as the prisoners have reached the house the warriors take good care of them, wash and dress their wounds and when their meals are ready serve the prisoners first. I cannot think that this is done from compassion but rather that the prisoners may look well and do honor to the triumph they celebrate in passing through all the towns of their nation till they arrive at their own homes. After they have refreshed themselves and rested, the prisoners are led out for the amusement of the inhabitants. They fasten strings of bells or deer-claws to the feet of one of them, to make a rattle for the dance, and present him with a parcel of small sticks. What is meant by the latter, the prisoner knows. He takes as many as he pleases and returns the rest. These determine the number of short dances he has to perform, which he does with great alacrity to the rattling of a calabash," filled with small stones and marking the time. After each round he relates one of his heroic deeds or experiences in war, and delivers a stick to the captain who sits in the circle. Though the spectators may not understand his language, they guess his meaning by his looks and gestures. This ceremony is repeated in every town through which they must pass. With white prisoners the procedure is in some respects different. Commonly these particularly must suffer much beating, because they are not conversant with Indian manners and customs.

When the parties at length arrive at their own homes with their prisoners a council is held to determine what disposition shall be made of them. Many of the prisoners are received into families to supply the places of the slain, the lately deceased or those who may have perished as a result of a drinking orgy, and are immediately considered as members of the family. Such prisoners are well treated, according to Indian custom, and their lot is bearable if they content themselves with their new surroundings. They are not put to much labor, which in general is little regarded by the Indians. If they run away and are retaken their lives are in danger. If the prisoners are white men their heads are shorn in Indian fashion, only a little hair remaining on the crown, and the face is painted red. This is done as soon as they are taken, so that when the villages are reached it is hardly possible to distinguish whites from Indians. In general they are well treated by the Indians and allowed considerable liberty, provided they conduct themselves properly and do not act in unseemly fashion toward the Indians.

Those unhappy prisoners who are condemned to die must suffer the most excruciating torture, execution of the sentence often being delayed until the prisoners feel themselves safe. The Indians flock to these executions as to some great solemnity, with a view to reeking on the unfortunate captive their cruel and revengeful disposition. A fire is made in the open, irons

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7
Huron NG5
Cherokee NN8

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are heated, and the unfortunate captive is bound to a stake placed at some distance from the fire. He is burned with the irons. Long strips of flesh are cut from his body with knives and salt is rubbed into the raw wounds. He may be half roasted at the fire, then released for a time, with a view to prolonging his tortures, which sometimes last three or four days. At length rendered insensible by pain, death may bring release, or his tormentors put an end to his sufferings and throw the mangled body into the flames. Captives often endure the torture with the greatest fortitude, sing of their heroic deeds accomplished in war, and do not let their captors notice fear or terror of death.

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Now and then a condemned prisoner is released by ransom; sometimes release is refused no matter how much is offered. In the year 1779 among the Wiandots a white captive was tortured to death. Several English traders who were there offered goods to the amount of several hundred buckskins, that is so many Spanish dollars but without success. Among the Mingoes and Shawanose this inhuman method of treating captives is particularly in use. In course of the present war[271] they have given several horrid proofs of their cruel disposition.

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Some years ago when a party of Shawanose went to war against the Cherokees, a young Shawanose was taken captive by the Cherokees and condemned to die. On the following day the fire was started, he was tied to the stake, and every preparation made for his execution, when a Cherokee woman arrived with a parcel of goods, and throwing them down at the feet of the warrior to whom the prisoner belonged begged for his release, alleging that she was a widow and wished to adopt him as her son. Her request was granted, the captive released and delivered over to her, and on the same day he walked up and down the village well dressed. He was so grateful to his protectress that he remained faithful to her, even returning in due time from a visit he paid to his own people.

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The statement that the Indians are cannibals is unfounded in fact. It has happened in some cases that prisoners were devoured, and it may happen now on rare occasions to satisfy vengeful hate. Formerly Indians have been known in the height of their fury to tear an enemy's heart out of his body and devour

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

266 it raw. When an Indian nation wishes to excite another to
war, it sometimes happens that they send one or more prisoners
to such a nation with the words, "We send you this prisoner
266 to make some broth," and frequently gain their aim in this
721 fashion. The prisoner, however, is not devoured but executed
727 without mercy. There is no rescuing him from horrible death.

Captains, when about to go to war, send to the captains of
721 nations or towns who are in league with them a piece of tobacco
574 to smoke, thus notifying them that they themselves will
soon follow. By this they intend that the captains shall smoke
276 their pipes and consider seriously whether they will take part
in the war or not. One chief about to visit another will, similarly, send him a piece of tobacco with the message that he shall smoke, look in a certain direction and in due time he will see the sender coming. This is done to make sure that the visitor will find the chief whom he wishes to visit at home.

728 The last war of the nations was between the Six Nations,
the Delawares and Shawanose and the Cherokees, the latter pitted against the rest. This war continued many years until peace was concluded in 1768,[272] as, a few years before, peace had been made between the Six Nations and the Catabe-Nation[273] through the mediation of Sir William Johnson at Albany. Concerning earlier Indian wars nothing is known and since that time war with the whites has engaged the attention of all the Indian nations.

648 With the Delawares the following nations are in league:
The Mahikander,[274] the Shawanose, the Cherokees, the Twichtwes,[275] the Wawiachtanos,[276] the Kikapus,[277] the Wiondats, the Tuckachschas,[278] the Chipuways, Ottawas, the Putewoatamen[279] and the Kaskaski.[280] The two last named dwell along the Wabash.[281]

The Shawanose, who formerly lived in Florida and have ever been a warlike people, had a war with the Moshkos.[282] The latter were the stronger and the Shawanose were reduced to a few remnants. The survivors left their country, came as fugitives up the Ohio to the Susquehanna. [Susquehannah]. They moved from place to place until they fell in with a strong party of Delawares. With these they entered into negotiations, stating that they were fugitives and wished to settle in the country of the Delawares and under their protection. The Delawares adopted them as grandchildren, even as had been done with the Mahikanders. The Shawanose now call the Delawares grandfather.[283] They lived for some time in the Forks of the Delaware and then moved to Wajomick[284] on the Susquehanna. Having increased considerably in numbers they moved to the western branch of that river and, later, as they deemed themselves secure in the alliance with the Delawares and sufficiently strong to venture it, to the Ohio above Great Island.[285] Here they commenced hostilities against the Cherokees. The latter pursued often following the Shawanose into the country of the Delawares. Unwittingly they killed some of the latter. This brought on a new war between the Delawares and the Cherokees, beginning, as indicated, by the Shawanose and not ended until the year 1768. The Shawanose lived for several years on the Ohio near Kittannünk,[286] whence they moved to Logstown,[287] twenty miles below Pittsburg, and from there to the Sioto, whence the Americans drove them and entirely destroyed their settlements, for the reason that they were guilty of constant attack on the settlements of the whites and of many murderous acts.[288] After this the Shawanose turned westward.

The Delawares have not engaged in war with any of the nations named except the Cherokees. Because these nations were in league with the Delawares, and called each other brothers (the Shawanose excepted), the Cherokees made peace with the Delawares, calling them grandfather, all these nations followed them and entered into alliance with them, and the Shawanose, having been adopted by the Delawares are so secure that no nation will venture to attack them, even though they are a cruel, warlike people.

It appears from what has been stated that the Delawares have powerful connections, being in league with most nations. Had the Delawares allowed themselves to be enticed in the present war, America's experiences would have been different. As these remained neutral, the nations in league with them did the same, except the Shawanose, who have nearly cut off their relations with "the grandfather." The Delawares are grand-

648 father to all these nations and they are the grandchildren. The Cherokees live on the east side of the Ohio, in the mountains opposite North Carolina. The Chipuways[289] are a numerous people on the north coast of Lake Erie. The Ottawas and the Putewoataimen live to the west of Lake Erie, but a great way beyond it. The Twichtwees and the Wawiachtanos dwell between the Sioto and the Wabash and the Kikapus, the Moshkos and Tuckachschas on both sides of the Wobash, yet a considerable distance from one another.

139 The country through which the Wobash [Wabash] flows is very level. Here are great plains producing nothing but grass as in the flats of Wajomik.[290] In a journey of some days you meet with neither hill, tree nor thicket. Upon these plains herds of buffalo are seen grazing, comprising sometimes of hundreds of head. The banks of the Ohio are subject to frequent inundation, especially in the spring when the snow melts in the north. For several miles on either side of the river the country will at such a time be under water. Should Indians be hunting at this time, they find it necessary to be careful of their canoes, lest they should suffer want or death, for once the water overflows the banks, it runs out many miles and there is no escape without a canoe. Buffalo and other game perish in large numbers in such floods. Where there is a slight elevation animals gather by the hundreds, until the waters recede. In that region there is a great salt-lick, much visited by buffalo and other game.[291] There bones and teeth of elephants of considerable size have been found, both by whites and Indians. In earlier times there must have been elephants in this region. Whether they were exterminated by the Indians or perished in some other way, it is not easy to determine.

The (Wiondats), or Hurons, have been given the latter
648 name because formerly they lived near Lake Huron, (the Delawares call them Delamattenos),[292] they call the Delaware nation their cousin, and the latter in turn call them uncle. With these the Delawares have never had a war but have always been good friends. Between the Delawares and the Six Nations there has never been real friendship, because the latter secured peace in no straight-forward manner. Recognizing that the Delawares

were too powerful for them, they pretended that it would not 648
be good for the nations to wage war continually and that one nation ought to be the woman and that nation must be the Delawares, as they were the greatest warriors. Afterward they alleged that they had conquered the Delawares. In the war which began in 1755 and lasted until the sixties the Delawares challenged the Six Nations on the occasion of a Treaty in Pittsburg, but the latter returned no answer.[illegible]

Of late years the Delawares have amazingly increased in reputation through the wise management of the Chief Netawatwes. This man spared no pains to gain the friendship of all the nations. He sent frequent embassies to the grandchildren, and showed himself a true grandfather. When the Delawares sent a message to the allied nations, the speech began with each string or belt of wampum, "Grand-children;" the nations address the Delawares, "Grandfather." The Wyondats and Six Nations are addressed "Uncle," and the Europeans, "Brother." The speech is generally addressed directly to the chief, though meant for the whole nation.

The nations generally addressed the French as "Father," when the latter were in possession of Canada and had intercourse with them. The same appellation was transferred to the English when they conquered Canada. In the other colonies Europeans and Indians called one another "Brothers." This practice was followed by Sir William Johnson.

Indians explain the origin of Nations and their names by 773
saying, and this not unlikely, that the inhabitants of towns or districts named themselves according to the places where they dwelt. Thus even at the present time Delawares who live in Goschachgünk are commonly called Goschachgiwak, that is Goschachgühlser — "people of Goschachgünk."

A message sent or a speech in council goes or is delivered 202
in the name of the three tribes, signifying the three chiefs. The 623
Turtle tribe is named first, next the Wolf Tribe and the Turkey 648
Tribe last.

When a message is returned, not having been accepted, the belt or string of wampum that has been rejected is thrown on the floor of the council house, after it has been announced why

202 the message was not welcome. The refusal is considered a great
623 affront and no one of the chiefs or counsellors will touch the
rejected wampum belt or string. This lies on the floor, the
648 men of the Council leaving the place, until some old woman
removes it.

622 Concerning usages and ceremonies connected with the election of a chief the following should have been added. If a chief of the Turtle Tribe is to be elected his own tribe does not choose him but the chiefs of the other two tribes do this. Similarly, if a chief of the Wolf or Turkey Tribe were to be elected, the tribe concerned would have no part in the election. The election is conducted in the following manner. As each tribe lives in a town of its own, the two chiefs, upon whom the election devolves, meet with their counsellors and people at an appointed place, and after all necessary preparations have been made — some thirty belts of wampum are required and a number of speeches arranged for — they move in a procession toward the town where the election is to take place. The two chiefs head the procession and one of them sings along the whole way the speeches that are to be made to the chief about to be elected, singing in a tone used on this and no other occasion. Thus they, still singing, enter the town where the chief is to be elected. They find everything prepared for the occasion, enter the council house at the east end, pass on one side the two or three fires that have been made and sit down on the other side. Next the inhabitants of the town enter, welcome the guests by shaking their hands and sit down on the other side of the fire. One of the two chiefs, in a singing tone, opens the proceedings by explaining the object of the meeting, condoling with the chief elect, wipes the tears from his eyes, clears his ears and throat, removes all sorrow on account of the departed chief from his heart and comforts him. Next he declares him to be chief and formally fills the office made vacant by the death of the former chief. He then exhorts the young people to be obedient to their new chief, whenever he shall require their assistance, and explains to them how they are to conduct themselves toward the chief. The speech is confirmed by means of two belts of

wampum and the speaker receives an answer, a solemn promise, from the young people that they will fulfill their obligation. He likewise addresses the wife of the new chief, who is present attended by several women, and admonishes her to be obedient to the chief. This is confirmed by means of a belt and the woman, in the name of all the women, promises obedience. Finally, he lays before the chief the duties of his office, regarding the preservation or re-establishment of peace, admonishing him not to meddle in the affairs of war and to keep his people from it, to continually attend to the welfare of his nation and to hear willingly the remonstrances of the people in case he should commit a fault. All this is intoned and the belts given in confirmation are laid before the chief. He promises to act in strict conformity to these injunctions.

The new chief thus enters upon his office by consent of the tribe and whole nation. He is placed, therefore, in a position of influence. He is loved and honored of his people and aided by them in his undertakings. Whoever obtains the office of chief in any other way is not respected. This is the case with the successor of Netawatwes, who was chosen by Europeans prominent in Pittsburg.[208] Such a one amounts to nothing and is held in no greater esteem than any other Indian. He can accomplish nothing, for neither the other chiefs nor the counsellors nor the people are with him. Thus the Delawares at present have no real ruler, to whom they are devoted and from whom they are willing to take counsel. This state of affairs will continue until they elect a chief in accordance with their own usages.

If a chief has made mistakes, he may be admonished by the whole people and is obliged to give attention to them. For any grave fault, which may prove injurious to the commonwealth — for instance if he suffers the young people to commit outrages or murders, which may be laid to the charge of the whole nation and involve it in war, or if he should not do anything to prevent such misdemeanors in the first instance — he is reprimanded by the two other chiefs, with the same ceremonious solemnity used at his installation, must be willing to take the

62. reprimand, and must promise to fulfill his duty better in the future.

The name Delawares undoubtedly has its origin with the Europeans, for neither they themselves nor other nations use this name. They call themselves the Lenni-Lenape Indians or *W'oapanachke,* that is people living towards the rising of the sun, having formerly inhabited the eastern coast of North America. It is possible that the word Delawares should have been applied to the nation; because the Unami Tribe, which lived nearest the sea, uses the word *'ndellowen* very much. This word, meaning "I say," being a verb, appears frequently and in many forms in the conversation of the people. The first Europeans, not understanding the language and hearing this word very often may have made Delaware out of it and called the people thus. The Indians themselves believe this to be the explanation, though it is possible that the Europeans have another, of which I am not aware.[291]

211 If a party of Indians have spent a night in the woods, it may be easily known, not only by the structure of their sleeping huts but also by their marks on the trees, to what tribe they belong. For they always leave a mark behind made either with red pigment or charcoal. Such marks are understood by the Indians who know how to read their meaning. Some markings point out the places where a company of Indians have been hunting, showing the number of nights they spent there, the [532] number of deer, bears and other game killed during the hunt. The warriors sometimes paint their own deeds and adventures, the number of prisoners or scalps taken, the number of troops they commanded and how many fell in battle.

726 If two nations are engaged in war and the warriors of one commit some murderous act, it is not uncommon that they leave the hatchet in the head of the victim who has been scalped or lay a war-club, painted red, upon the body of the victim. This is a formal challenge, in consequence of which, a captain of the insulted party takes up the weapon of the murderers and hastens into their country to be avenged. He will do much the same thing, leaving his weapon upon the murdered, and

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7
Dakota NQ11

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endeavor to bring back a scalp or several scalps to show that he has avenged the rights of his nation. 726

Across the Mississippi there lives a nation called the Su.[208] They live along the river Su far beyond the Illinois, where there are vast plains without trees and on which wild goats, buffalo and other game graze. As there is no wood, the Indians burn dried buffalo manure. For the winter they provide themselves with peat, which they dry with grass. Their utensils they make of clay and burn them, wherever they may be, for they travel from place to place following game. Their weapons are the bow and arrow. Water being scarce on the plains, they catch the dew for cooking and drinking purposes. For this purpose they use large sponges that grow on the rocks in the rivers. This I have been told by an Englishman who lived sometime in that country. These Indians trade with the Spaniards. I have heard from various sources that the further west one goes the more extensive are the plains. Da 105

Indians usually treat one another with kindness and civility and in their bearing toward one another are modest. They are communicative but thoughtful. Of empty compliments they know nothing. In meeting it is customary to shake hands, greet one another with the friendly title of Father, Older or Younger Brother, Uncle, Cousin, Grand Son, Grandfather and say "I am glad to see you." Sometimes all this is repeated when the guests have been sometime in the house. Expression of greeting through others is hardly customary, occasionally a gift is sent by way of greeting. Greetings are expressed in all sincerity. If sentiments do not correspond to words and forms, the latter are dispensed with. If warriors, going to war or coming from war, when the murderous spirit is on them greet one (I will not say an Indian, for that were nothing unusual, but a white person) one may certainly believe to possess their favor and good grace and need fear no harm, for if they have the least feeling against anyone, they will use no form of greeting. This I know from frequent experience. An Indian carries pouch and pipe with him wherever he goes, for they are indispensable. For state occasions they may have an otter skin De 576

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276 pouch or a beaver-pouch or one decorated with coral, made by
the women. Sometimes they have a buffalo horn, from which
a pouch, made possibly of tanned deer-skin, depends. In the
pouches they carry tobacco, fire materials, knife and pipe. Sumac
is generally mixed with tobacco or sumac smoked without tobacco,
for but few can stand smoking pure tobacco. Their common
521 conversation turns upon hunting or the news of the day.
Matter that has no foundation in fact may be drawn into conversation,
and even though all may be aware of this, the narration
continues uninterrupted. They may laugh now and again
but they will listen attentively. No one interrupts another.
When one has finished another begins. They never put any one
574 publicly to blush; they are polite to each other and enjoy being
politely treated. They like to be regarded as worthy people
576 even though they may be the opposite. They are pleased to
know that they are liked. When a guest comes into a house,
food is placed before him; that comes before anything else.
574 If the guests are from a distance and very good friends, the
whole kettle of food is set before them, they are given dishes and
264 spoons and allowed to help themselves first to as much as they
wish. The guests having partaken of the food, pass the kettle
back to the people of the house. They live very simply. Meat,
corn, gruel, corn-bread, are the principal articles of diet.[200] In
lieu of meat, various dishes are prepared with corn, or Sopan,
milk and butter are used. They like to discuss affairs of state
574 and communicate their opinions. In fact they are more ready
521 to discuss such matters in course of visits than in the Council
House, for there they prefer to let the older people speak. Occasionally
visits are made with the purpose of discovering the
opinions of others; in a chief's home all manner of reports,
true and false, furnish material for discussion. The women
speak of their work, their plantations, the pouches, bags, baskets,
carrying bands they have made, many of them though not all
smoking tobacco. Stories are carried by women from house to
house; they are so often manufactured that if men, having
listened attentively to some tale, hear that it originated with a
woman they will give it no credit until confirmed by some more
reliable authority.

Trade with Europeans is carried on usually on the basis 436 of fixed price, both as concerns goods and pelts. The Indians trade their deer, beaver, otter, raccoon, fox-skins, wild-cat-skins and others for goods which the traders often take a considerable distance into the Indian country. If they can deceive the whites, they do so with pleasure, for it is not easily done. They are delighted, also, if they succeed in purloining something. They are fond of buying on credit, promising to pay when they 439 return from the chase. The traders may be willing to take the risk, hoping to control all that they catch. But if the Indians, 452 on their return, find other traders in the country, they barter with them and trouble themselves no longer over their creditors. If the latter remind them of their debts, they are offended, for to pay old debts seems to them to be giving goods away for nothing. Usually traders learn from their losses to give nothing or but little on credit. This is the safest course and there is no danger in arousing the enmity of the Indians. When war breaks out the traders are the first in danger, not only of losing their property but also for their lives. When the Indians suspect a war approaching, they keep it secret and take as many goods upon credit as they can get; as soon as the war breaks out all debts are cancelled.

The Indians trade much among themselves, especially the 438 women, who deal in rum, which they sell at exorbitant prices, 273 which occasions much disorder. Indian traders usually demand high prices, knowing well that unless the buyer were in great distress, or fully intent upon closing the bargain, he would rather not deal with them. Indians when really anxious to obtain anything will pay almost any price. If they are in need of corn they will give goods or pelts in exchange for it. Frequently, the chiefs have prohibited the sale of strong drink in their towns, but it is always brought in in some manner, against which the chiefs are powerless to protest. For instance, they may appoint a sacrifice of rum, in which nothing but rum is used. This the chiefs cannot hinder owing to established custom. When once the Indians, who gather in large numbers for such a sacrifice, have tasted the strong drink but have not satisfied themselves, they will go to the old women who deal in liquor.

273 438 The latter will often obtain everything that an Indian owns except his Breech-clout. For their skins the Indians get from the traders powder, lead, rifle-barrelled guns—for other weapons they do not value—blankets, strouds, linen, shirts, cotton, 439 callemanco,[207] knives, needles, thread, woolen and silken ribbon, wire and kettles of brass, silver buckles,—these are considered as valuable as gold and with them they can purchase almost anything—bracelets, thimbles, rings, combs, mirrors, axes, hatchets and other tools.

535 If the young are at home and not on the chase hardly a night passes without a dance. The women, who always follow the men, dancing in a circle, act with decency and becoming modesty, as if they were engaged in the most serious business. Neither laughing nor levity are to be noticed and they never speak a word to a man, for this would injure their character. They neither jump nor skip, but move one foot after the other slightly forwards then backwards, yet so as to advance gradually. The men shout and leap and stamp with such violence that the ground trembles under their feet. Whatever man acts in the oddest and most ridiculous manner is the most regarded. They dance in a circle around the fire. Often in the midst of the dance they will all hold their heads forward over the fire, stand bowed or leap and stamp, singing all the time; suddenly they stand erect again and move forward. They make all manner of unusual movements to show their agility and skill. They have no other music than the drum. When one dance has been finished the one who beats the drum sings and beats until another begins. There is always a leader whom all watch carefully and follow. They have various kinds of dances, some acquired from the other nations.

526 The young men often wrestle to test their strength. The one thrown is not angered but admits the other to be his master. Another mode of testing strength is in trying to lift some large stone, or throwing a stone of considerable size the greatest distance possible.

525 Nine-pins, ball-playing and cards they have learned from the whites. The Indian game of dice is the most popular of

Iroquois NM9

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amusements. They may devote days in succession to it, always 525
gambling on the throwing. Among the Mingoes I have observed that two towns brought together goods, blankets, strowds, I
shirts, linen and played for them. In this case the game lasted 525
eight days. The dice are placed in a dish, lifted up and thrown forcibly on the ground. The people of the two towns met daily during the period named and every inhabitant of each town threw the dice once. This done they parted for the day and each party separately offered a sacrifice in the evening. In connection with the sacrifice they had their special ceremonies, consisting in a man going several times 'round a fire, throwing tobacco into it and singing a song. Afterwards the whole company danced. This continued for eight days. When the winners bore away the spoil in triumph.

The boys exercise by shooting at a mark with bow and D
arrow. They may throw something into the air and shoot at 526
it, the one hitting the object being regarded as a good marks- 868
man. As soon as they are able to run about they learn to use the bow and arrow. When they grow older they shoot pigeons, squirrels, birds and even raccoon with their bows and arrows.

Two comrades who have been reared together or have be- D
come attached to one another will be very close and constant 572
companions. If one goes on a journey or to hunt the other will, if possible, accompany him. It seems almost impossible for either of them to live without the other, and for one to give up his companion, as may be necessary when one becomes a Christian, is very hard. Often such friends will make a covenant with one another to remain together and share alike possessions and knowledge.[200] If they go to war together and one perishes the other will fight desperately to avenge him, accounting his own life as nothing.

In traveling in companies they are very companionable and D
follow some recognized leader. The younger element, on such 484
journeys, engages in the hunt and if deer or bear is shot, the carcass is brought to camp and laid at the fire of the one who is held to be leader. He divides the meat among all, share and share alike. No complaint is ever heard that one has received more than another. If the chiefs have a journey to make, they

484 usually take some of the younger men along, who supply the larder during the journey by engaging in the chase. A journey is rarely hurried for usually it makes little difference whether they arrive at their destination a day late or not, and they are everywhere at home in the woods. They rarely leave camp early in the morning, wishing always to have a good meal before starting and sometimes they delay to mend their shoes. This inconveniences Europeans, who may be obliged to use the Indians as guides very much, especially when they are anxious to reach a certain place at a certain time. It is best policy, however, to accommodate oneself to the Indians, for admonition or remonstrance easily offends them and makes them act in a very contrary manner.

577 Indians dislike having their evil conduct or acts uncovered and held up to them. They are able, however, in subtle fashion so to touch upon such subjects that the parties concerned will understand. This method they prefer, not wishing to offer an open affront. It has happened that one openly accused of an evil deed, murder or the like, has, in desperation, ended his life. They sometimes reveal secret things by means of dreams they pretend to have had when they do not wish to show from what source they have their information. Their desires and inclinations, likewise, they will reveal through pretended dreams, when they are ashamed to make these known directly; often they achieve their purposes in this manner. Chiefs occasionally receive a secret message which must be made known. They will say that at night, while sitting by the fire, some one rose out of the earth, handed over a string or belt of wampum and, whispering the message in their ears, disappeared again in the earth. In this fashion a message may go a hundred miles or more under the earth, coming to the surface where it was intended that it should, often at the fire of a chief of another nation. This happens when war is to be made but kept secret for the time being, the message, therefore, being very difficult to understand for any but the chief.

574 They are desirous of retaining the favor and friendship of other nations. When they receive visitors, therefore, the latter are shown all honor and entertained in the best possible way, in

order that at home they may have nothing but good to report. 574 As hospitality is generally practiced, strangers are everywhere well received and suffer no want, even though they may remain for days, or weeks or months. It is recognized as a duty to care for the wants of a guest as long as he may choose to remain and even to give him provisions for the journey when he does make up his mind to go.

On the occasion of making or renewing a treaty with another nation a dance very different from the ordinary dance is 648 535 engaged in. The dancers join hands and leap in a circle for some time. Suddenly the leader lets the hand of one of his partners go, springs forward and turns around several times, by which he draws the whole company round so as to be enclosed by them, when they stand close together. They disengage themselves as suddenly, yet keeping hold of hands during all the different evolutions and changes in the dance; this, as they explain it, represents the chain of friendship; a song, used only at such a solemnity, is sung by all.

The War Dance is very wild and dreadful to behold. One 721 535 dancer carries his hatchet, another a long knife, another a large club, a fourth a cudgel. These they brandish in the air, to signify how they intend to treat or have treated their enemies, affecting all the while an air of anger and fury. The Mingoes use the war dance even in times of peace with a view to celebrate their heroic deeds.

They regard the Europeans as a peaceable people, created 829 of God to live according to their own manners and customs, even as the Indians have been created to live in their fashion, especially to sustain themselves by means of the chase. They think it contrary to the will of the deity to adopt, themselves, the manner of living peculiar to Europeans, pointing to fish, animals and birds as each having their characteristic habits. Each creature, bear, deer or other animal, continues to live in its own way, and it has never yet been observed that an animal had adopted the habits of another. The same principle, they hold, applies to Indians and Europeans. They recognize that the Europeans are industrious and clever, that without oppor-

829 tunity to trade with them their position would be without many of the advantages they now enjoy. They admit that the whites are very ingenious, because of their ability to manufacture a great variety of things, but regard their manner of living as wearisome and slavish as compared with their own. Their own skill as hunters and woodsmen, they hold, excels that of the whites. Towards these they harbor a secret enmity which they disguise in their presence, for they suspect that they will deprive them of their land and drive them within narrower confines. This suspicion is not without foundation. Among the Delawares this dislike has been moderated through long intercourse with the whites, yet they show that they have no particular love towards them, in that they will sell their lands to them and after these have become inhabited will seek to drive them off by starting war.

648 The French seem to possess a greater share of the goodwill of the Indians than the English, being regarded by the Indians as being more akin to themselves, probably because they enter more easily into the Indian manner of living and appear always good-humored. Indians have more faith in the French than in other Europeans. Since the late war with England all the Americans except the English in Canada, otherwise called by the Indians Virginians, are known as Big Knives by the nations because, from the beginning, the Indians saw them and the Governor of Virginia on all occasions of negotiations with the Indians wearing long swords. Hence, they called them Choanschican and the Six Nations named them Assarigoa that is Big Knives, which name has been applied to all Virginians and has been extended from it to all Americans because the Virginians in this war negotiated most of the treaties with the Indians.[299]

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181 Judged by the mere appearance of the Indians one is surprised how modest and careful they are in relation to each other and imagines that the whites, if they were as free a people and had neither government nor punishment to fear, would not be as united and peaceable as the Indians appear to be. The towns and villages of the latter are not indeed governed by force or
361 law. Each individual is at liberty to live where he pleases,

moving from one place to another according to inclination, yet 361
they generally dwell together for the sake of the help they can
render each other in building and in fencing up the great field
where all may plant and be sure that their pieces of ground will
not be molested by cattle. If they have a good chief he may 622
be very useful to the people, for under him they believe themselves
to dwell in safety as it is his business to keep the peace
with other nations and order among his own people in so far as
this may be secured among the Indians who are a free people
recognizing neither compulsion nor authority to punish. By
means of discretion and diplomacy a chief may accomplish much.
At times he may not tell his counsellors, much less the people,
what his ultimate purposes are, for fear of not attaining them.
Moving forward step by step he may gain his end. Of violence, 685
murder (except in drunkenness), robbery, theft, one rarely hears
among the Indians. They may leave all they have caught in
the chase and their utensils in the forest, secured indeed against
wild animals such as wolves and bear, but not hidden from the
Indians. They often hang their things to trees in the woods
where everyone passing by may see them and leave them there
for days and weeks, yet they are never molested. Stolen goods
may not be easily concealed among them, and whoever has been
guilty of theft must restore or repay lest a horse or two or even
his gun, which is an Indian's means of sustenance, be taken from
him or his friends summoned to make good the injury, even
years after the theft has been committed. The latter will rather
pay than be much and often called upon to do so.

Few houses are locked when the people go out. A stick is [414]
placed against the door on the outside and the passerby sees
that no one is at home and does not enter. Each one is free
to do as he pleases without let or hindrance, yet he will rarely
do another injury.

Their old people, even though they are only able to crawl 737
about and are a source of trouble and have nothing to bequeath 888
to anyone, are faithfully cared for by their friends who seem
to wish that their lives should be prolonged. That they are
unmerciful and insensible towards the poor and needy may not 736
be said of them. Even strangers who have no friends are

736 given assistance. A poor widow, even though she have children, finds it possible to make a living if she is willing to work. They pay her above the worth of her services in food and clothing; if it is summer she may work on the plantations; in winter she may prepare wood for fire. They are willing to help the poor but always expect them to render some service in return. It has been known that good has been done to prisoners condemned to death, even to whites, though this had to be done secretly.

A few negroes are found among the Indians having been
829 either bought from the whites or secured as prisoners. These
144 are looked upon as of their own kind and allowed full liberty. Indians and negroes in[illegible]marry and their mulatto children are as much loved as children of pure Indian blood.

431 They are fond of giving when they can expect something in return and of doing good which they have reason to hope may be returned. They easily forget the good that has been done, but if they have been cheated they never forget it. If a white has done them ever so many favors, helped them in need, or given them presents, and omits an opportunity to do the like only once, then all he may have done is forgotten. If an Indian takes a wife and dresses her generously from head to foot in new garments she will indeed be glad and proud; but she will more readily leave him than if he had given her little or nothing, for in that case she would still be in expectation of receiving something.

One may even make enemies of Indians through presents if these make them proud and one does not continue giving. Occasionally when a respectable present has been given the donor is slandered in order that he may not expect something in return from the recipient.

152 They are able to control their desires and passions, but once given free rein these are the more violent. Overcome with wrath, they at once think upon murder, and may, in the heat of passion, do something for which they will later feel remorse.

521 The women are much given to lying and gossiping. They carry evil report from house to house. As long as they are observed they appear modest and without guile. All the wrongs

of which they are guilty are done in secret. That adultery, 521
theft, lying, cheating are terrible vices they know, having learned 83
it from their ancestors as well as from whites. Fear of disgrace keeps them from open wrong-doing for they do not wish to have a bad name. Secretly, however, they are given to all manner of vice. Some are no longer sensitive to shame. There are traces of unnatural sins among them, hardly known to any except to those such as missionaries who have learned to understand the people well. Virtue one must not seek among the savages, but the grace of God is able to accomplish wonders among them. Not all are equally bad. Some among them are sensible people and considerate, who act reasonably and have an eye to right and justice.

I had no faith concerning sorcery attributed to them, though 754
I have lived many years among them, thinking it all to be boasting and lying on their part. I believed the Indians were too stupid for such satanic practices, but I have been persuaded otherwise. I know for a certainty that witchcraft is common among them. Those who make great pretention to skill in the dark arts know the least about them. The adepts do not boast of their knowledge for fear of their lives. They are very careful, even under the influence of strong drink, not to draw suspicion upon themselves. There seem to be Indians who have the ability to bring about the death of any one by other than ordinary means, even in the short space of twenty-four hours. This they do without the use of poison, which, if used, might be discovered and for which an antidote might be administered. Usually two or three or more agree that a certain person shall die. While he is asleep or in the presence of others they somehow exert their evil influence upon him. The effects are various. Sometimes the victim falls to the ground immediately in convulsions, lies for a time as dead, then recovers consciousness but soon dies. Sometimes the effects are not noticeable for several days. Occasionally the unfortunate individuals are afflicted with diseases, from which there is no recovery for years. Hence, it is that when illness cannot be accounted for on natural grounds, the Indians are apt to believe themselves to have been bewitched.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910

NM7 Delaware NM7

Nanticoke NM11

D 754 Accounts of illness attributed to this cause are, however, not all to be credited.

N 754 [101] By the Nantikoks[300] the Indians have been instructed in the use of a peculiar kind of poison called *Mattapassigan*, meaning poison. The Nantikoks dwelt formerly in Maryland, along the sea, some of them still living there, and later moved to Wajomick along the Susquehannah, finally proceeding further northward. In the late war they were driven out with the Six Nations. They brought knowledge of this poison, which carries many evils with it, to the nations and also to the Delawares. What it is and whereof it is made I am unable to say, as I have never seen it, and the descriptions vary. Possibly it is prepared in different ways. It is said not to be baneful in itself and to receive its power for working injury through witchcraft. It is declared to be capable of infecting whole townships and tribes with disorders as pernicious as the plague. With its use the sorcerers are said to be able to remove a person though he may be several hundred miles away. The Delawares have endeavored to extirpate the shocking evil. Their efforts extending over two years were in vain, for those possessed of the knowledge of its uses kept the knowledge secret. The Nantikoks who were the wretched inventors of this poison and its arts, have nearly destroyed their own nation by it. Its use is rendered efficacious by a company of murderous sorcerers uniting in the same design. Its effects are the more terrible, because it is used not only in connection with individuals but whole communities. In their practices the sorcerers, except in case of the poison described, seem to use no Beson but a little piece of an old blanket or something else. This they rub in their hands until formed into a little ball. Naming the one who is marked for death, they throw this ball at him, saying that he shall die. They call this shooting the witchball.[301] Any person wishing to get another whom he hates out of the way will hire a sorcerer or several of them to do it, paying them in wampum. The Indians say that their poison and witchcraft have no effect upon the white people because they use so much salt in their victuals. But this is merely a pretense as there are instances of Europeans having fallen victims to their skill in poisoning.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7
Shawnee NM7

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Warriors, and especially Captains, procure a beson thought to be capable of preserving them from arrow and ball. In the year 1774 when a war had broken out between the Shawanose and the whites, the latter had their war-beson carried about among the ranks upon a pole, in a battle they fought with the whites on the Canhawa.[301½] But the Beson bearer himself was shot, the whole Indian army routed and the Beson fell a pray to the conqueror.

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Another sort of deceivers are called by them Kimochne, "night walkers." These people get into the houses at night and steal whatever they can get. The Indians say that they bewitch the family into a profound sleep so as not to be discovered. They are said to be able to go a hundred miles or more and back during a single night, proceeding through the air over hill and dale and river. This seemed to me incredible, but I have been told by various individuals that it is true. We have several converted sorcerers in the congregation.[301¾]

Most extraordinary experiences have been met with by boys from twelve to fourteen years of age, when they have been alone in the forest in apprehension and in need. An old man in a gray beard may have appeared and said in soothing tone, "Do not fear, I am a rock and thou shalt call me by this name. I am the Lord of the whole earth and of every living creature therein, of the air and of wind and weather. No one dare oppose me and I will give thee the same power. No one shall do thee harm and thou needest not to fear any man." Such and similar prophecies he makes. Such a boy ruminates upon what he has heard and is confirmed in the opinion as he grows up that a peculiar power has been imparted to him to perform extraordinary exploits, and he imagines that no one can do him injury. As he can receive no further instruction from any one, he must learn from experience how far he can go, his imagination inspiring him to make every effort. Such boys give themselves to the practice of the dark arts, having abundance of time for investigation and practice, because in their youth they are not required to work unless they choose to do so. Such a boy is feared above others, but of these there are very few. Others have been led by dreams to study theory and

754 practice of the black art Most are deceivers who pretend to be able to leap over a river or from one mountain to another. Old women are sometimes accused of being witches. If a child dies suddenly some one will pretend to have seen an old woman with the child at night, who is then believed to have bewitched the little one. Some old woman or another Indian may thus, though quite innocent, be thought guilty of witchcraft and be thus considered to the end of life. Again there are witches supposed to go through the towns at night in the form of an owl or a fox. It is nothing strange that an owl or a fox should get into the town, as many of the towns are surrounded by the forest. Such witches are supposed to kill Indians, bring disease and plague into the town. The worst is said to be that when such animals are shot at they do not die, being able to close up the wound caused by the bullet.

It is remarkable that Indians of such character have been led to lead a new life and turn from all deceitful practices. From them it has been learned that most of their dark practices grow out of imagination and superstition. Of those, however, who seem versed in the use of *Mattapassigan* none have to the present time been converted, though some with whom I came into contact were inclined to better themselves but were unable to refrain from their evil practices, being afraid, apparently, that their lives would be endangered.

771 That the Indians have some sort of religion and mode of worship whereby they endeavor to please the Deity, cannot be denied. Their worship, however, is unreasoning devotion. It is remarkable that savages who have been cut off from association with other nations for no one knows how many centuries should have so much knowledge of Deity that is handed down from generation to generation.

They believe and have from time immemorial believed that there is an Almighty Being who has created heaven and earth and man and all things else. This they have learned from their ancestors, but where the dwelling place of the Deity is they know not. They have always heard that whoever lives a virtuous life, refrains from stealing, murder and immorality,

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

would at death go to some good place where conditions would 771
be better than here, where there would be a superfluity of every-
thing and a happy life of joy and dancing. On the contrary,
whoever lived an evil life would arrive at no good place but
have to wander about sad and unhappy. Hence nothing is so 771
terrible and awful to them as death, because they do not know 821
how it will be after this life nor whither they shall go. When-
ever they think of death they are filled with anxiety, but rather 789
than consider how they ought to live they seek to rid them-
selves of thoughts of death. They fear the thunderbolt, because
it occasionally strikes and shatters the trees, but they seek to
disguise their fear. Yet they believe that the Deity is graciously
and mercifully disposed towards men, because he imparts power
to the plants to grow, causes the rain to fall and the sun to
shine and gives game to man for his support. Indeed, as to
fish and deer they imagine them given particularly to the Indians
and not so much to the whites for the Indians were created to
sustain themselves by the chase and the whites by the work of
their hands. There are indeed some among them who pretend
to be able to bring rain when there has been drought, and such
a person knowing that the women, whose business it is to care
for the plantations, are anxious for rain shows his cleverness
in deceiving the people. Noticing from cloudy appearances early
in the morning that it is likely to rain during the day, he will
tell some one, that i[illegible]bacco or something else that he wishes
is given him he will [illegible]rain. The party so informed will tell
the women, who in their joy contribute each a little and bring
the fellow what he desires. The latter goes to some lonely place,
draws a circle on the ground, makes a cross within it and puts
tobacco, a pumpkin and some red coloring into it as well, seats
himself, sings and shouts so that he may be heard, continuing
if possible until it begins to rain. Even sensible Indians believe
that he has brought the rain because under the circumstances it
generally rains. In case the rain fails to come he makes promises
for another day.

They believe God to be almighty and able to do as he pleases. 776
Hence in times past they brought sacrifices and still do this

776 making their offerings not directly to the Deity but to things of his creation, as will later appear. No one has ever heard that they have sacrificed to the devil, whom together with all evil spirits they abhor, believing that all evil comes from them, even as all good comes from God.

They seem to have had no idea of the devil until in modern [177] times preachers arose among them who proclaimed that there was such a being, having secured their knowledge from the whites. They have no very definite conception of him but consider him to be a very powerful spirit, able to work much harm and unable to do any good. Many say also that Indians would never be claimed by the devil, however wicked they might be in the world, because he existed only for the whites who wrought evil. They declare that he is not to be found among the Indians but only among the white people, for if he were among the Indians they would long since have discovered him, and their ancestors would have told them about him. They did know, however, about good and evil spirits which appears from this: when crimes had been committed, the guilty ones laid the blame on an evil spirit who had seduced them. They have also been accustomed to admonish one another in time of war not to give ear to the evil spirit but to the good spirit who counseled peace. They also knew nothing of Hell, believing only that 771 wicked men would go to no good place after this life. They have no proper term for such a place other than *Machtandonwinek* which means, with the devil, *Machtando* meaning the Evil One. They have never had regularly appointed priests, the oldest men having usually performed the sacrifices, admonished the people to good life and conduct, warned them against immorality, murder and violence, if they would be happy, attain to great age and after death get to the good place. How much this meant among blind savages who were dead in sins and had not the ability to withstand evil and vice may be readily imagined. It is possible that the admonitions of the aged availed to the extent of restraining wickedness, so that it did not break forth as it does at the present time. It is undoubtedly true that there were formerly fewer vices than now. Of some forms of indulgence they know nothing, for example of strong drink,

through which unquestionably many evils have crept in. They 771
lived in earlier days more simply, perhaps one ought to say more stupidly, and now that they have gained in knowledge and understanding they have become practiced in wickedness.

They consider the soul to be an invisible being and a spirit. 774
Formerly, they used the word *W'tellenapewoagan* to describe it, meaning the "Substance of a Human Being." Savages use this word to the present day. Now they have accepted the word *W'tschitschank*, that is, "Spirit." They believe also in the immortality of the soul. Some likened themselves to corn which when thrown out and buried in the soil comes up and grows. Some believe their souls to be in the sun and only their bodies here. Others say that when they die their souls will go to God and suppose that when they have been some time with God they will be at liberty to return to the world and be born again. Hence, many believe that their souls have come from God and that they have been in the world before.

They believe also in the transmigration of the soul. Wandering 775
spirits and ghosts, they claim, sometimes throw something into a public path and whoever goes over it is bewitched and becomes lame or ill. They even pretend to know where such a thing happened, learning it from the doctors who are thought to be able to effect a cure.

Concerning the deluge there are some fairly clear traditions 773
among the Indians. According to these, the world was at one time entirely flooded and all men perished. The turtle, however, able to live both on land and sea, had survived and again peopled the world. Hence, the Turtle Tribe is the most important among the Indians. Another tradition is that when the earth was flooded some men and women had seated themselves on the back of a turtle of such great age that moss had already grown on its back. These people commissioned a diver that flew nearby to search for land. After searching in many regions this bird had at last returned with a bit of earth in its mouth. They, then, proceed on the back of the turtle to where this earth had been procured and found a little spot of dry land, where they settled. Gradually more land appeared, and this was, eventually, peopled by the descendants of those

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910

NM7 Delaware NM7

Iroquois NM9

Nanticoke NM11

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773 who had on the back of the turtle escaped the general destruction.

Concerning their origin no trace of tradition is to be found among the Indians. From some old Mingoes I heard that they
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believed themselves to have come from under the earth, where
773 they had lived before. A badger had worked his way to the surface, seen the beautiful land and returned at once to announce to them what he had seen. They had been so pleased with his account that they left their subterranean abode forthwith and settled in this beautiful land. From their habit of speaking in figure or parable, it may be concluded that by this account they mean to convey the idea that they originally came from the other side of the earth. Others say that they came from under the water, which may mean much the same thing.
N The tradition of the Nantikoks is that seven Indians had sud-
773 denly seen themselves seated at the sea-side. Whether they had come over the sea or been there created they did not know. Descendants of these Indians peopled the land. Others, again, claim that the first human being fell from heaven. This was a woman, cast out from the upper regions by her husband. Shortly after her fall from heaven she was delivered of twins, from whom the inhabitants of this land are descended. They believe that in the realm above them is a world of men much like this, whence the Indians originally came.

D They believe in numerous spirits or subordinate deities. Almost all animals and the elements are looked upon as spirits,
776 one exceeding the other in dignity and power. There is scarcely
787 an Indian who does not believe that one or more of these spirits has not been particularly given him to assist him and make him prosper. This, they claim, has been made known to them in a dream, even as their religious belief and witchcraft is alleged to have been made known to them in a dream. One has, in a dream, received a serpent or a buffalo, another the sun or the moon, another an owl or some other bird, another a fish, some even ridiculously insignificant creatures such as ants. These are considered their spirits or *Manittos*. If an Indian has no *Manitto* to be his friend he considers himself forsaken, has nothing upon which he may lean, has no hope of any assistance

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and is small in his own eyes. On the other hand those who 787
have been thus favored possess a high and proud spirit.

About thirty years ago[302] preachers appeared among the 668
Indians. They pretended to have received revelations from
above, to have traveled into heaven and conversed with God. 794
They gave different accounts of their journey, but all agreed in this: that no one could enter heaven without great danger, for the road, say they, runs close by the gates of hell. Here the devil lies in ambush and snatches at every one who is going to God. They came first to the Son of God and through him to God himself, with whom they pretend to have conversed concerning the Indians and by whom they were commanded to instruct their people. Thus the Indians were for the first time informed that there was a heaven where was the dwelling of God and a hell that of the devil. Presumably they got this knowledge from the whites. Some of the preachers confessed that they had not reached the dwelling of God but had approached near enough to hear the cocks crow and see the smoke of the chimneys in heaven. Others that they had approached the Son of God and then returned.

These teachers marked off on a piece of parchment made of deerskin two roads, both leading to heaven, one designated by God for the Indians, the other for the white people. They claim that the latter had to go a great way round about and the road for the Indians was at that time the shortest, but now, since the white people had blocked up the road for the Indians, they were obliged to make a long circuit to come to God. Further, there were paintings of heaven and hell upon the parchment as also the figure of a balance to represent the deceitful traffic carried on by the white people with the Indians. This rude parchment is, as it were, their Bible, and lies spread before them when they preach for the Indians. They then explain every mark and figure to their hearers and it is very evident that their chief aim is to influence the minds of the Indians against the white people. It is certain that their preaching has had this effect, for about this time war broke out between Indians and whites there having been no such war before.

They declared to the Indians that God had commanded their

668 794 cleansing from sin and to this end they gave them twelve different kinds of Beson to drink, supposed by causing vomiting to free them of sinful taint. Some Indians, following these injunctions, vomited so often that their lives were endangered by it.[303] They were, further, strictly ordered to fast, and to take nothing but Beson. Few persevered in this absurd practice the required length of time.

Other teachers pretended that stripes were the most effectual means to purge away sin. They advised their hearers to suffer themselves to be beaten with twelve different sticks from the soles of their feet to their necks, that their sins might pass from them through their throats. They preached a system of morals, very severe for the savages, insisting that the Indians abstain from fornication, adultery, murder, theft and practice virtuous living as the condition to their attaining after death the place of the good spirits, which they call *Tschipeghacki*, the "land of spirits," where the life is happy and deer, bear and all manner of game are abundant and the water is like crystal. There nought was to be heard save singing, dancing and merry making. Formerly the Indians only knew of a good place promised to the virtuous, but they did not know where the place was. The preachers pretend to have found the place, which lies to the south. The passage thither is the milky way which may be seen in the heavens on a clear night. They venture also to describe the appearance of the place for there are Indians who have been dead for several days and returned to life who have been there and have told of the things-seen. Whoever reaches that place will find a city of beautiful houses and clean streets. Entering a house he will see no one but have good things to eat placed before him, a fire made and a bed prepared — all of which is done by spirits invisible to him. Others assert that such an one will see the women coming with baskets on their backs full of strawberries and bilberries, large as apples, and will observe that the inhabitants daily appear in fine raiment and live a life of rejoicing.

In this they all agree that the bad Indians, who have not lived as these preachers exhorted them, will not reach the place, *Tschipeghacki*, but must remain some distance away, able to see

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those within dwelling happily but not able to enter. They would receive nothing but poisonous wood and poisonous roots to eat, holding them ever near the brink of a bitter death but not suffering them to die.

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While these preachers admonished the Indians to lead a good and virtuous life their own walk and conduct altogether disagreed with their exhortation. They introduced polygamy, and during their sermons had several of their wives sitting 'round about them. They even pretended that it was a charitable and meritorious act in them, as men living upon terms of intimacy with God, to take these poor ignorant women and lead them in the way to God and to the enjoyment of eternal felicity.

This part of their doctrine was greatly relished by the Indians, and it is a lamentable truth that since that period adultery, fornication and other such abominations have been more frequent among the Indians. The young began to despise the counsel of the aged and endeavored to get into favor with these preachers whose followers multiplied very fast. Some of the preachers went even so far as to make themselves equal with God. They affirmed that the weal and woe of the Indians depended upon their will and pleasure. Their deluded followers, possessing the highest veneration for them, brought them many presents. Even some of the most sensible and respected Indians assented to their doctrines, punctually following their prescriptions even at the hazard of health and life. Some of the latter we now have in the congregation, who have learned that nothing avails to deliver from the servitude of sin save the blood of Jesus Christ.

One of these preachers often proclaimed openly to the Indians that he was quite at home at the side of God, went in and out of his presence where neither sin nor Satan could do him harm; he stated, however, that he had never heard of the God on the cross preached by the Moravians, and did not believe him to be the real God for his God had no wounds and gave him whenever he appeared a little piece of bread, white as snow. On another occasion, having prepared a drink of bilberries he announced that this was the blood of the Son of

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

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God. Thus it appeared that through him Satan endeavored to rob the gospel of its power over the Indians.

As long as the preachers did not proclaim things evidently untrue they were held in great regard and had a considerable following withersoever they went, for they never remained long in one place, else their deception would have been revealed the sooner. They still preached in Gekelemukpechünk [304] when the Moravians came to the Muskingum. Soon thereafter they began to be too coarse, seeking to establish their teaching in opposition to the gospel. This brought about the end of their influence. One has since heard little of them and the most have died. For at the last they preached that whoever would believe in them and follow their direction would be happy in the chase and in all other undertakings, would be able to cross sea and land, would reap plenteous harvests even though little had been planted. The Indians who trusted in them soon saw that they had been deceived and that they had been brought to starvation by the treacherous preachers. Then the power of the latter was at an end.

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Worship and sacrifices have obtained among them from the earliest times, being usages handed down from their ancestors. Though in the detail of ceremony there has been change, as the Indians are more divided now than at that time, worship and sacrifice have continued as practiced in the early days, for the Indians believe that they would draw all manner of disease and misfortune upon themselves if they omitted to observe the ancestral rites.

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In the matter of sacrifice, relationship, even though distant, is of significance, legitimate or illegitimate relationship being regarded without distinction. A sacrifice is offered by a family, with its entire relationship, once in two years. Others, even the inhabitants of other towns, are invited. Such sacrifices are commonly held in autumn, rarely in winter. As their connections are large, each Indian will have opportunity to attend more than one family sacrifice a year. The head of the family knows the time and he must provide for everything. When the head of such a family is converted, he gets into difficulty because his

friends will not give him peace until he has designated some one to take his place in the arrangement for sacrificial feasts. 782 796

Preparations for such a sacrificial feast extend through several days. The requisite number of deer and bears is calculated and the young people are sent into the woods to procure them together with the leader whose care it is to see that everything needful is provided. These hunters do not return until they have secured the amount of booty counted upon. On their return they fire a volley when near the town, march in in solemn procession and deposit the flesh in the house of sacrifice. Meantime the house has been cleared and prepared. The women have prepared fire-wood and brought in long dry reed grass, which has been strewn the entire length of the house, on both sides, for the guests to sit upon. Such a feast may continue for three or four nights, the separate sessions beginning in the afternoon and lasting until the next morning. Great kettles full of meat are boiled and bread is baked. These are served to the guests by four servants especially appointed for this service. The rule is that whatever is thus brought as a sacrifice must be eaten altogether and nothing left.[303] A small quantity of melted fat only is poured into the fire. The bones are burnt, so that the dogs may not get any of them. After the meal the men and women dance, every rule of decency being observed. It is not a dance for pleasure or exercise, as is the ordinary dance engaged in by the Indians. One singer only performs during the dance, walking up and down, rattling a small tortoise shell filled with pebbles. He sings of the dreams the Indians have had, naming all the animals, elements and plants they hold to be spirits. None of the spirits of things that are useful to the Indians may be omitted. By worshipping all the spirits named they consider themselves to be worshipping God, who has revealed his will to them in dreams. When the first singer has finished he is followed by another. Between dances the guests may stop to eat again. There are four or five kinds of feasts, the ceremonies of which differ much from one another. [261]

In another kind of feast the men dance clad only in their Breech-clout, their bodies being daubed all over with white clay. 796 [302]

796 At a third kind of feast ten or more tanned deer-skins are given to as many old men or women, who wrap themselves in them and stand before the house with their faces turned toward the east, praying God with a loud voice to reward their benefactors. They turn toward the east because they believe that God dwells beyond the rising of the sun. At the same time much wampum is given away. This is thrown on the ground and the young people scramble for it. Afterward it is ascertained who secured the most. This feast is called *'ngammuin*, the meaning of which they themselves are unable to give.

A fourth kind of feast is held in honor of a certain voracious
[776] spirit, who, according to their opinions, is never satisfied. The guests are, therefore, obliged to eat all the bear's flesh and drink the melted fat. Though indigestion and vomiting may result they must continue and not leave anything.

A fifth kind of festival is held in honor of fire which the
[776] Indians regard as being their grandfather and call *Machtuzin*, meaning "to perspire." A sweating-oven is built in the midst
776 of the house of sacrifice, consisting of twelve poles each of a different species of wood. These twelve poles represent twelve
343 *Manittos*, some of these being creatures, others plants. These
[776] they run into the ground, tie together at the top, bending them toward each other; these are covered entirely with blankets, joined closely together, each person being very ready to lend his blanket, so that the whole appears like a baker's oven, high enough nearly to admit a man standing upright. After the meal or sacrifice, fire is made at the entrance of the oven and twelve large stones, about the size of human heads, are heated and placed in the oven. Then twelve Indians creep into it and
[276] remain there as long as they can bear the heat. While they are inside twelve pipes full of tobacco are thrown, one after another, upon the hot stones which occasions a smoke almost powerful enough to suffocate those confined inside. Some one may also walk around the stones singing and offering tobacco, for tobacco is offered to fire. Usually, when the twelve men emerge from the oven, they fall down in a swoon. During this feast a whole buck-skin with the head and antlers is raised upon a pole, head and antlers resting on the pole, before which the

Indians sing and pray. They deny that they pay any adoration 796 to the buck, declaring that God alone is worshipped through [343] this medium and is so worshipped at his will.

At these feasts there are never less than four servants, to each of whom a fathom of wampum is given that they may care for all necessary things. During the three or four days they have enough to do by day and by night. They have leave, also, [443] to secure the best of provisions, such as sugar, bilberries, molasses, eggs, butter and to sell these things at a profit to guests and spectators. Festivals are usually closed with a general [273] drinking bout. There are always rum-sellers present on such occasions who make large profits. As a result of the drinking there are generally several fatalities, for, among the Indians that gather from various places, such as wish to work off an old score are ready to make use of the opportunity afforded by these occasions.

Besides these solemn feasts of sacrifice there are many of 796 less importance, for individuals arrange them on their own account. 782 They invite guests and prepare a feast of deer or bear's flesh. The guests consume the whole meal, the host and his family being mere spectators. At the great feasts all who are present partake of the food. Each individual may offer sacrifice for himself when engaged in the chase, in order that he may be successful. Having cut up a deer and divided it into many small pieces he scatters them about for the birds and crows that sit about on the trees waiting. Retiring to some distance the Indian will then amuse himself by observing in what manner they devour the prey. Another may offer to his *Manitto* for some other reason. Corn is said to be the wife of the Indian and to it they sacrifice bear's flesh. To the deer and bear they offer corn. To the fishes they bring an offering of small pieces of bread shaped in the form of fishes. If an Indian hunter hears an owl screech in the night he immediately throws [825] some tobacco into the fire, muttering a few words at the same time. Then they promise themselves success for the next day for the owl is said to be a powerful spirit. In dreams, they claim, it has been made known to them what creatures to regard as their *manittos* and what offerings to bring to them. Such

776 offerings are then regarded by God as rendered to him. It is clear enough that the Indians, professing to worship God and
782 bringing sacrifices to him, serve Satan, who influences their dreams, and keeps them in slavery in this wise, for the Indians consider dreams to be of great importance and nothing less than revelations from God. It is indeed true as the Apostle says, 1 Cor. 10:20, "the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to the devils and not to God." Those among the Indians who have been converted recognize this and henceforth hold the Indian sacrifices and offerings to be vain and do not care to say much about them.

769 To the spirits of the dead they offer both meat and drink-offerings. If it is to be a meat offering, which the doctors must decide in case of illness or accident, either a hog or a bear is killed for a feast and guests are invited. The latter assemble in the house where the sacrifice is to be offered. An old man gives part of the meal to the enraged spirits, speaks with them, and begs them to be pacified. All this is done in the dark; there must be neither fire nor light. After the old man has communed with the spirits he tells the guests that they have been appeased.

If it is to be a drink offering rum is required. Guests are invited also. They drink together and some one speaks with the spirits and pacifies them. The guests walk to the grave and pour some rum upon it. Such sacrifices are very common among them, and are arranged even upon very trivial occasions. In case of a tooth-ache or head-ache, they imagine that the spirits are displeased and must be pacified by an offering.

765 Every woman whose child dies in a foreign land travels, if possible, once a year to the place of its burial, taking another woman with her, and offers a drink-offering upon its grave.

776 The hare is regarded as a great God and they bring offer-
773 ings to it. The name of one of the twins born to the woman that was thrown from heaven was *Tschimammus*, that is, hare. He made the land upon which the Indians dwell and was their ancestor. Now he is said to dwell in heaven, for many Indians who have been there have seen him and spoken to him and to them he has declared that he would come again.

The only idol which the Indians have, and which may properly be called an idol, is their *Wsinkhoalican*, that is image. It is an image cut in wood, representing a human head, in miniature, which they always carry about them either on a string around their neck or in a bag. They often bring offerings to it. In their houses of sacrifice they have a head of this idol as large as life put upon a pole in the middle of the room. 778 532

Their ornaments are partly round shields and half moons of silver, partly the same forms made in wampum. These are usually worn upon the breast for adornment. They also have great belts of wampum made of the violet, not the white, wampum. Men as well as women wear silver crosses upon the breast and in the ears which custom comes from the French. The *Wsinkhoalican* they like also to hang about their children to preserve them from illness and insure them success. 301 [788]

They are very fond of white children. Hence Indian women run after white men and, when they have white children, make much of them, although they do not like the white people. Twins are regarded as particularly fortunate, being looked upon as favored people who have a great spirit. 144 845

Their language resembles various other languages, some more, some less. When one remembers how near or how far they have lived from one another it will appear that the differences in the languages have come about through the separation of the peoples and the little contact they have had with one another. 197

The Unami and the Wunalachtico both lived along the sea in Pennsylvania and in Jersey, a short distance from one another. Their languages differ very little. That of the Monsys[306] who lived on the other side of the Blue Mountains in Minnissink is very different from these, so that had they not dwelt nearer together and been in constant contact in recent times they would hardly understand each other. Yet the speech of each of these peoples is but a dialect of one and the same language. The language of the Mahikanders[307] bears much resemblance to that of the Monsys, the former having lived in New York and the Woapeno not far from them in New England. The language of the Nantikoks, formerly residing on the seacoast in Maryland, very much resembles the Delaware, differing only in pronunciation

197 and accent. The language of the Shawanose is also related to
the Monsy and Delaware but, more particularly, to the Ma-
hikander, only the former generally place the accent upon the
last syllable of a word. The reason for this is that they orig-
inally lived in Florida and whether their language changed
very much since they were driven out and lived first in the Forks
of the Delaware, then along the Susquehannah, then along the
Ohio and finally here among the Delawares, I am not able to
determine, except it be, that in Florida the language of some
other nations bore a resemblance to this. The language of the
Twichtwees and Wawiachtanos resembles the Shawanose and
consequently, also, the Delaware. The dialects of the Kikapus,
Tuckachschas, Moshkos, Kaskaski the further away they lived
resembles the Delawares less and less. Yet the Delawares have
much intercourse with them, for many of them live along the
Wabash where the Kikapus have given them hunting grounds.
Every year Delaware hunters go thither for the chase and return.
The language of the Ottawas is related somewhat to that of the
Shawanose, Chipuways and the Delawares. The language of
the Cherokees is a mixture of other languages. It has a little
of the Shawanose, the Mingoes and a great deal of the Wion-
dats. The speech of the last named people and that of the Six
Nations are again dialects of one and the same language, differ-
ing from one another yet easily understood by either of the
nations named. It appears, therefore, safe to affirm that there
are two principal languages spoken by the Indians of North
America, namely the Mingoes and the Delaware.[208] Concerning
the nations who live along the Mississippi I have no certain
knowledge. They are not usually counted among the northern
nations. Their language has an agreeable sound both in com-
537 mon conversation and in public delivery. The Monsy is much
rougher. In their public delivery they speak with a very pom-
pous and boastful tone, in which the Iroquois excel all the other
Indians. There are, indeed, no rules of oratory laid down in the
Indian language, yet the speakers must be well versed in mat-
ters relating to their own nation as well as those of others, and
they must know what title to apply to each of the other nations,
whether brother or nephew or uncle. The same holds good of the

various branches of their own nation. The Monsys and Unamis 537
call one another Nitgochk, "my companion [feminine] in play,"
for the reason that the whole nation has become the women.
The several tribes, also, have special names and titles, which [101]
the speaker must know. These titles are not generally used but
only in their councils when something of importance is to be
communicated, which is done with great solemnity. They are
able to express themselves with great clearness and precision,
and so concisely that much circumlocution is required to convey
the full meaning of their expressions in an European language.
In spiritual things, of which they are totally ignorant, there was [797]
utter lack of expressions. But since the gospel has been preached
among them, their language has gained much in this respect.
If they intend to speak in an obscure manner, they can speak
so cleverly and with so much circumstance that even Indians
must puzzle out the true sense of their allusions. They are
able to convey an account of a bad action so skillfully that it
appears not to be a bad but a virtuous deed. The chiefs are
not particularly well versed in this art of dissembling, and, therefore, very strict attention must be paid to every word of their
discourse, especially, if an answer is required, and great caution
is necessary in order that one may not be caught.

A speaker in council must be able to deliver his speech without hesitation. Often he has no time to prepare his subject, the different heads are only briefly named or left for him to collect from the conversation of the chiefs. He must, then, be able to comprise the whole in a speech, well arranged and uninterrupted, which requires a clear and open understanding, a faithful memory and experience in matters of state. Young men are being constantly trained for such duty. They are admitted as hearers to the council, to familiar intercourse with the chiefs, who instruct them faithfully, and are employed as ambassadors to give them an opportunity to exercise themselves in public speaking.

The pronunciation of their language is easy, only the Ch 194
is a very deep gutteral. The greatest difficulty is presented by the
compounding of words with verbs, substantives and adjectives,
which is very difficult for a European to learn. They have few

194 monosyllables. In things relating to common life the language of the Indians is remarkably rich. They, in many cases, have several names for one and the same thing under different circumstances. They have ten different names for a bear, according [192] to its age or sex. Similarly, they have a number of names for a deer. They have one word for fishing with a rod, another for fishing with a net, another for fishing with a spear or harpoon. Such words do not in the least resemble one another. 194 The speech of the Unami has the most agreeable sound and is much easier for a European to acquire than that of the Monsys. 197 The Monsy dialect, however, is a key to many of the expressions in the Unami. The latter have a way of dropping some syllables, so that without a knowledge of the former, it would be impossible either to spell their words or guess their meaning. The Unami have adopted many words of the Monsy dialect and the Monsys of the Unami dialect. They have no "f" nor "r" in their language, hence they pronounce foreign words containing these letters differently, for example, Pilip for Philip, Petelus for Petrus, adding a syllable, and Priscilla they pronounce Plicilla. In polysyllables the accent is generally placed on the middle syllable or on the last but one. This must be very minutely attended to because the sense of many words depends upon the 40 accent. They can count up to thousands and hundreds of thousands, though they are unable to grasp the significance of large numbers. The women generally count upon their fingers, for this is their custom and their memory is poor.

In arithmetic they have made but little progress. They count up to ten, make a mark, proceed to the next ten and so on to the end of the account. By adding the tens they come to hundreds, and so on. In counting money the penny is the smallest coin they reckon. The Monsys call the stiver, of which they learned from the Dutch in Minissink,[300] stipel. Sixpence they call Gull, corruption of the Dutch Gulden. They usually count money according to Gulls, twenty Gulls being equal to ten shillings. If they want to calculate carefully, they take Indian corn, calling every grain a penny or a gull, adding as many as are necessary to make shillings and pounds.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

Of writing they know nothing, except the painting of hieroglyphics, already referred to, which they know very well how to interpret. These drawings in red by the warriors may be legible for fifty years. After a hero has died, his deeds may, therefore, be kept in mind for many years by these markings. A letter, especially, if it is sealed, is considered a very important thing. If any treaties, contracts or deeds are required to be delivered to the Europeans, signed by their chiefs, captains or counsellors, they make their mark and get others to subscribe their names. The mark may be a hook, or the foot of a turkey or a turtle or represent something else. They are very generally ashamed of their Indian names and prefer the names given them by the whites. Some have learned to write the initial letters of their new names. 212 217 [551]

In reckoning time they do not count the days but the nights. An Indian says, "I have travelled so many nights." Only if the entire journey has been accomplished in one day, will he speak of a day's journey. Most of them determine a number of years by so many winters, springs, summers or autumns. They say, "In spring when we boil sugar," that is March, or "when we plant," that is May, so and so will be of such an age. Few know their age when they get to be over thirty. Some reckon from the time of a hard frost or a deep fall of snow in such a year, from an Indian war, or from the founding of Pittsburg or Philadelphia, when they were so or so old. They divide the year into winter, spring, summer, autumn, and these periods are divided according to the moons, though, it must be said, that their reckoning is not very accurate. They cannot agree just when to begin the new year. Most of them begin the year with the spring, that is with March, which they call Chwoame Gischuch, that is the Shad month, because at this season this fish goes up the rivers and creeks in great numbers. True, these fish are not found here, but the name was brought from the Susquehanna region. April they call Hackihewi Gischuch, that is Planting month, though they rarely begin to plant before May or the end of April. May has a name signifying the month in which the hoe is used for Indian corn, though this is usually not 805

805 done until June. The name given to June signifies the month in which the deer become red. That of July, the time of raising the earth about the corn, and of August, Winu Gischuch, the time when the corn is in the milk and ready to eat and roast. September is called the first autumn month, October the harvest month, November the hunting month, most of the Indians going out to shoot bucks. The name December shows the time when the bucks cast their antlers. January is the month in which the ground squirrels come out of their holes, and February they call Squalle Gischuch, the month of frogs, the month when the frogs begin to croak, though this again does not usually occur until later. At the present time the most of them begin the year with the Europeans, if they have come into frequent contact with them.

554 601 They are well versed in their genealogies and are able to describe every branch of the family with the greatest precision. They also add concerning the character of their forefathers, such an one was a wise and intelligent man, a great chief or captain or an Achewilens, that is a rich man and seems to signify as much as the word, gentleman, for the rich among them are highly respected. These make themselves prominent by giving the chiefs great quantities of wampum, when the chiefs are in need, and they are regarded as the main supports of the chiefs.

173 Concerning remoter ancestors they know nothing more than that they were great warriors and accomplished many heroic deeds, that in the war with the Six Nations, when they still lived along the sea-coast, the former were unable to do them much harm and after attacks on Delaware towns had fled in such haste that the Delawares had not been able to catch them, though they had got to the mountains as swiftly as turkeys, that, however, in spite of the ability of the Six Nations to get away the Delawares had caught and killed many of their enemies. They, also, relate concerning their ancestors that the Six Nations regarded them as mighty magicians, feared them and at last concluded a peace with them in the manner already described. Further, they relate how in times past the Delawares made attacks on towns of the Cherokees and killed many of the inhabitants; how, on occasion, they visited them at night during the dance, mingled

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

with the dancers, and when the amusement was at its height 173
killed many of them with short weapons they had concealed under
their blankets, escaping, after the deed was done, before their
treachery had been discovered.

The land was never formally divided among the nations, 361
whatever region was settled by a nation was recognized as property
of that nation, and no one disputed its title, until, in course 648
of war, one nation overpowered another and drove it out of its
territory. In such cases, however, the conquering nation did not
always settle on the conquered territory; for example, the Moshkos
drove the Shawanose from their land in Florida but did not
themselves settle there, still living on the west side of the Ohio
in the region of the Wabash. The Delawares conquered the territory
in which they live, having been driven out of the region
they once inhabited by the white people. The Wiondats adjudged
this region as belonging to them; and the Kikapus have given
them a district along the Wabash and bordering on the country
they inhabit for the chase. A part of the Delaware nation has
lived in the Wabash region these many years, and of those living
here many go thither every year. The boundaries of Indian
countries are fixed along rivers and creeks or in a straight line
from one river to another or along the mountain ranges, where
there are mountains.

Of the spherical form of the earth they have no conception. 823
Some declare that the earth floats upon the sea and that an
enormous tortoise bears it on its back. The sky, they say, rests
upon the water probably because it appears so to do when they
look out upon the sea. Others declare that there is a place where
the sky strikes the earth, rises again and continues moving up
and down, smiting a rock, which causes such a report that it may
be heard many days' journey. Two great captains once visited
that place, and one of them risked going through the opening
when the sky rose. He succeeded in getting into heaven and
coming back. Yet where this place is they know as little as they
do the location of Tschipey Hacki, the land of the spirits. The
sun, they think, sinks into the water when it sets. Thunder is a 821
mighty spirit dwelling in the mountains and sometimes issuing
from their fastnesses suffers himself to be heard. Others imag-

821 ine the thunder to proceed from the crowing of a monstrous turkey-cock in the heavens. For certain stars they have names. The north star is called Lowanen, that is, north, or it is called the star that does not move. The wagon which revolves around the North Star they call the Bear, whom, they say, the Indians pursued with a little dog, that is the star Wilis; the three stars in the form of a triangle, represent the head of a bear, which they cut from the trunk and threw down. Certain stars forming an ellipse they call the beaver-hide, because they describe the form of a beaver hide stretched out. The milky way is the road to Tschipey Hacki. The seven stars[illegible] they have named Anschisktauwewak, that is fire-brands gathered or laid together. The Monsys (Mouseys) call these stars Menhaugik, the travelling companions. Other nations have yet other names for them. In case of an eclipse of sun or moon, they say that these bodies have fallen into a swoon.

755 In time of illness, they try all manner of remedies, for they have a great fear of death. They not only consult the doctors, but take, also, the medicine that others may prescribe. The doctors must be called in, for if they were slighted, the patient might die. The doctors blow upon the patients, sprinkle a drink of roots and herbs they have taken into the mouth upon them, and murmur incantations over them. They diagnose the disease, tell whence it came and inform them whether recovery is possible or not. They give directions, also, as to what must be done and what kind of sacrifice must be brought. They prescribe some sort of Beson prepared from herbs and roots, of which they know the properties very well. It has happened that many doctors have been consulted in a single case, have perhaps given up all hope of recovery, and yet the patient became well.

757 [824] For headache they lay a piece of white walnut bark on the temples, toothache is treated by placing the same kind of bark on the cheek over the tooth that gives the trouble. The bark is very heating and burns the skin in a short time, often affording relief. The same bark is applied to any of the limbs that may be afflicted, having the effect at times of driving the pain from one part of the body to another, until there is an eruption
752 somewhere. This bark pounded fine and boiled to the con-

sistency of a strong lye stops the flow of blood when applied 752
to a fresh wound, even though an artery may have been ruptured,
prevents swelling and heals the wound rapidly. After this
solution has been used for one or two days other roots must be [824]
applied, such as the great sassaparilla and others that have healing powers.

Epilepsy is not very common among the Indians. It does 158
not often happen that an Indian becomes mad, and madness
among these people is not as violent as among the whites,
probably, for the reason that they are not possessed of equal
power with the whites, and even their bodies are weaker because they have not the abundance and variety of nourishing
food. Blood letting is supposed to help the epileptics.

Of small-pox they knew nothing until some of them caught 164
the contagion from the Europeans. Most of them died before
the small-pox properly appeared. They are much inclined to
boils and sores. Upon these they lay a warm poultice made 752
of the flour of Indian corn; when the boils are ripe they are
lanced. Broken arms and legs they are able to set very well,
though limbs are not broken often, dislocated joints they are
also able to correct. If an Indian has dislocated his foot or
knee, when hunting alone, he creeps to the next tree and tying
one end of his strap to it, fastens the other to the dislocated limb
and, lying on his back, continues to pull until it is reduced.
For tooth-ache the Indians use roots also, placing a little piece
in the hollow tooth, which sometimes affords relief though not
always. Sometimes teeth are extracted if a pair of pincers can
be secured. It is not for lack of skill but for lack of proper
instruments that they do not treat external injuries more successfully. Such instruments as they have are not used in the
most careful manner. If one who is being operated on cries
out, those present laugh. Misfortunes of almost any kind trouble [522]
them little; if house and goods have been burned, the unfortunate owners may even relate the experience in a humorous
manner.

Many of them suffer from diarrhoea, particularly, in the 757
fall of the year. The evil is aggravated because they know nothing of dieting and continue to eat whatever they wish. For [164]

757 this and for other troubles they have roots and herbs, which generally prove efficient remedies. Knowledge of these remedies may be confined to a very few, who demand payment for any prescription they make and keep their secrets to themselves. One common mistake made by all Indian practitioners is overdosing the patients. Fortunately, the Indians have strong constitutions, and usually do not suffer permanent injury from the unwise treatment of their doctors.

Concerning mourning for the dead it might be added that 765 a widow is expected to observe in externals the following rules during the period of mourning which lasts a year. She must lay aside all ornaments, wash but little, for as soon as she makes pretensions at cleanliness, combs and dresses her hair, it is reported that she is anxious to marry. Men who are in mourning have no such regulations to observe.

Should a chief have lost a child or near relative, no complaint may be brought before him, nor may his advice be asked on any affairs of state. Even important embassies from other nations cannot be attended to by him until comfort has been formally offered. This is commonly done by delivering a string or fathom of wampum and addressing to him a speech, in which figuratively the remains of the deceased are buried, the grave covered with bark that neither dew of heaven nor rain may fall upon it, the tears are wiped from the chief's eyes, the sorrow of burial taken from his heart and his heart made cheerful. This done, it is possible to confer with him on the matters of state that need consideration.

When Europeans, who are in more comfortable circumstances than the Indians, wish to comfort a chief, they not only give a string of wampum but wrap the corpse of the deceased in a large piece of fine linen, laying another piece on the grave and wipe the tears from his eyes with silk handkerchiefs. Both the linen and the silks are given him as a present.

When a chief dies sympathy is expressed with the whole 766 nation. I will give a brief description of the ceremonies ob- 648 served when the Cherokees sent a formal and numerous embassy to the Delawares in Goschachgünk to renew their alliance with

them after their Chief Netawatwes had died. The ambassadors 766
halted several miles below the town and sent word that they
had arrived. The day after some Delaware Captains went down 648
to welcome them and delivered a speech, in which they expressed
joy on their arrival, extracted the thorns they had gotten on the
journey from their feet, took the sand and gravel from between
their toes, and anointed the wounds and bruises made by the
briars and brushwod with oil, wiped the perspiration from their
faces and the dust from their eyes, cleansed their ears, throats
and hearts of all evil they had seen, heard or which had entered
their hearts. A string of wampum was delivered in confirmation of this speech and then the Captains, accompanied by a
large number of Indians, conducted the embassadors to the
town. On entering the Cherokees saluted the inhabitants by
firing their pieces, which was answered in the same manner by
the Delawares. Next, the Captain of the Cherokees began a
song, during which they proceeded to the Council-house, where
everything had been prepared for the reception of the visitors.
All having been seated, the Cherokee Captain comforted the
grandfather, the Delaware nation, over the loss of the Chief.
Continuing he wrapped the remains in a cloth, buried them,
covered the grave with bark, wiped the tears from the eyes of
the weeping nation, cleansed their ears and throats and took
away all the sorrow from their hearts. He confirmed his speech
by delivering a string of wampum. Then the peace-pipe was
stuffed, lighted and in turn smoked by several Captains of the
Delawares and Cherokees.

The peace-pipe is held in high regard among the Indians. 276
It is brought out at certain solemn occasions, as when peace is 766
concluded or renewed. The head is six or eight inches long and
three inches high. It is made of stone or marble. A pipe made 648
of red marble, as was the one used on the occasion described
above, is particularly valued. The pipe-stem is made of wood
and blackened, it is strong and durable and may be four feet
long. It is wound around with fine ribbon and decorated with
ornaments made of porcupine quills of various colors. It may
be further ornamented with green, yellow and white feathers. [822]
If the pipe is made of red marble it is whitened with white clay

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[822]

or chalk, for red is the color of war, even though the red marble pipe is most highly valued. For the same reason nothing red may appear on a string of wampum. A war-belt is smeared with red paint or cinnabar. If for want of a white wampum belt, one made of the violet colored shells has to be used, this is whitened with clay and then has the same signficance as a white belt. The dark wampum belts are used, whenever they wish to give some one a severe lesson or a reproof. After the ceremonies described above had been completed, and all had partaken of a feast, the exercises for that day were at an end. On the next day they approached the chief matters of interest and exchanged belts of friendship, this part of the negotiations lasting several days, as each belt was presented in connection with a formal speech.

136 A few words should be added concerning animals.

1) Swallows[210] are found, generally near some body of water. Snipe[211] are gray in color and have a bill almost as long as the body of the bird. The gull[212] is frequently seen near rivers and lakes. Two kinds of plover[213] may be seen in these parts, both found near water. The one variety is about the size of a blackbird,[214] which is sometimes found away from water, the other much smaller.

The whippoorwill[215] is a night bird, of gray color, somewhat smaller than a turtledove.[216] It has a thick head, a short bill and a wide mouth. It has received its name from its note, which may be heard all night long.

The Mosquito-hawk[217] gets its name from catching mosquitoes and flies while on the wing. It is about the size of turtledove, has a round white spot on each of its wings, which seem, when the animal flies, like holes in the wings. It will dart up and down very swiftly in its efforts to catch insects.

Of bees[218] nothing was known when we came here in '72, now they are to be found in large numbers in hollow trees in the woods.

Wasps[219] are found in large numbers.

2) Among the quadrupeds the flying squirrel[220] should be noted. This animal is about the size of a rat, has a thin mem-

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

braneous continuation of the skin of the sides and belly by which its hind and forelegs are connected. This supports the animal in leaping from one tree to another. In other respects it resembles the common squirrel. 136

3) There is found here a variety of rattlesnake[321] I have seen nowhere else. It is hardly a foot long and very slender, it has rattles as have the other varieties and its bite is quite as venomous. The color is, also, like that of the other rattlers, yellow with black markings.

4) Plants. Laurel,[322] also called the wild box, grows along 137 river banks, or in the swamps in cool places or on the north side of mountains. It grows so thickly that it is impossible to get through. In swamps of laurel, bears like to make their winter quarters. The wood is fine and hard. The Indians make spoons of it. [322] The main stem does not become thicker than a leg. The leaves are green summer and winter.

THE END.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware
Eastern Woodland Indians NM3

NOTES.

1. It is of the Iroquois and Delawares that the author is speaking. ·142 Six footers among them were the exception; Red Jacket measured five feet eight; Logan, six feet; Shenandoah, six feet three. Schoolcraft (*History . . . of the Indian Tribes*, Pt. IV, 349) states that he found about one-half of the men of the Chippewa nation in 1822, six feet high; yet the Dakotas averaged five feet nine. Keokuk was six feet two. The Ottawas were of smaller stature than the average lake tribes. Schoolcraft did not find muscular development large save among tribes located near white settlements where the means of sustenance was more constantly supplied.

2. The color of the American Indian ranged from the "brown yellow" of the mulatto to the paled faced "White Indians" of the Red River, whose seeming likeness to the Welsh has been discussed (Samuel Gardner Drake, *The Aboriginal Races of North America*, 1, 52-55). *The Blanc Barbus* of Canada and Menomonies of Wisconsin were of lighter complexion, while the darkest of aborigines were found in the Caribbean Islands, in Guinea and California. The Cherokees and Chippewas have been classed with the darker Indians of southern California, the West Indies, etc., as of possible Malay origin. By all accounts the skin of the red man is as thin and soft as that of the white man; poison ivy affected some Indians if they only came in contact with wind blowing over it upon them.

3. Peter A. Brown, Esq., in 1852, found the fibre or shaft of the average Indian's hair to be cylindrical, while in the case of the Anglo-Saxon it is oval and in the African race, elliptical; thus the first would be straight, the second curly and the third fetted or wooly.

600 4. The Seneca Tribe of the Six Nations were generally known west of New York by the name of Mingo, especially in the Ohio Valley. The name was also used as an equivalent for the more general term of Iroquois, but oftentimes meaning those who migrated from their New York homeland.

5. Shawanese or Shawnees of the Scioto Valley.

6. Wyandots of the region between the Sandusky Valley and the Detroit River.

7. The general impression that is current concerning the hardship of the life of Indian squaws could not have been gained from a careful reading of men who wrote of the Indians in their original environment. Writes Heckewelder: "There are many persons who believe, from the labour that they see Indian women perform, that they are in a manner treated as slaves . . . but they have no more than their fair share . . . of the hardships attendant on savage life. The

work of the women is not hard or difficult. They are both able and willing to do it, and always perform it with cheerfulness. I have never known an Indian woman to complain of the hardship of carrying this burden (a pack on making a journey) which serves for their own comfort and support as well as their husbands . . . . the fatigue of the women is by no means to be compared to that of the men. Their hard and difficult employments are periodical and of short duration, while their husbands' labours are constant in the extreme. Were a man to take upon himself a part of his wife's duty, in addition to his own, he must necessarily sink under the load, and of course his family must suffer with him"—*An account of the History, Manners and Customs of the Indian nations* (1817) 146-7. As to the universal cheerfulness of Indian women Zeisberger is at variance with his compatriot. "The Indian women," writes Loskiel, "are more given to stealing, lying, quarreling, backbiting and slandering than the men"—*History of the Mission of the United Brethren,* (1794), 16. In our numerous references to the above mentioned writers, in footnotes, we shall use the following terminology, Heckewelder's *History,* Heckewelder's *Narrative,* and Loskiel's *History.* 000

8. Zeisberger, it must always be remembered, is writing in Ohio; his references to the country to the northward are the result of his acquaintance with the Six Nations in New York State. 114

9. The Onondaga tribe of Six Nations, located near Syracuse, New York. 010

9½. Zeisberger seems here to imply that the country of the Shawanese was Kentucky; elsewhere he clearly speaks of the Scioto Valley as but one hundred miles distant.

10. Contrary to the taste of other Indians, as the Dakotas, Schoolcraft, *History,* Pt. IV, 67.

11. Breech cloth.

12. Singularly enough, everything in an Indian's cabin had its specific owner. "Every individual knows what belongs to him, from the horse or cow down to the dog, cat, kitten and little chicken. For a litter of kittens or brood of chickens there are often as many different owners as there are individual animals. Thus while the principle of community of goods prevails in the State, the rights of property are acknowledged among the members of a family"—Heckewelder, *History,* 147-8.

13. Indian Hemp; *Apocynum cannabium.* L.

14. Monsey, one of the Three Tribes of the Delawares living chiefly on the Beaver River. [352]

15. Bunks made of boards.

16. The expression here is singular and shows that the western, migratory Iroquois were clearly distinguished from those who remained in the "Long House" in New York State.

535 17. The Rev. David McClure states that such was the desire for dancing among the Delaware Indians that "they are building a dancing house in this small village, [the capital of the Delawares near the present site of Newcomerstown, O.] which will cost them more labour than one-half of the houses in it" — *Diary*, 77. This is one of the most valuable volumes of early travel (1770-1790) in the Middle West and will often be quoted.

114 18. It is interesting to compare the accounts of Zeisberger and Heckewelder, the former a jotter down of facts, the latter a formal historian. "The Indians are proud but not vain," write Heckewelder; "They consider vanity as degrading and unworthy the character of a man. This passion of the Indians which I have called *pride*, but which might perhaps, be better denominated *highmindedness*, is generally combined with a great sense of honour, and not seldom produces actions of the most heroic kind" — *History*, 159, 161. The plain, unpretentious words of Zeisberger, often derogatory of the Indians, have a ring of accuracy that is found in almost no other record.

000 19. The length of space to which a man can extend his arms.

20. "Courage, art and circumspection, are the essential and indispensable qualifications of an Indian warrior" — Heckewelder, *History*, 166. According to Zeisberger's notion, how appropriate the first lines of the Delaware's chant on going to war: "O poor me!" *Id.* 204.

21. Pontiac's Rebellion.

22. Ottawas.

23. Revolutionary war.

837 24. Heckewelder's descriptions of Indian abhorrence of marital infidelity are not borne out by Zeisberger or Loskiel. David McClure, writing at Coshocton, in 1772, records: "Several of the aged Councillors had lived with one wife from their youth; but a great part of husbands and wives at Kekalemahpehoong [Delaware capital], had separated and taken others. I was astonished at the profligate description which young Killbuck (whose father had directed him to lodge in my house, and to wait on me), gave me of himself. He slept in a loft, which was ascended by a ladder at the farther end of the house. He conducted a squaw up the ladder every night. I asked him one day, if it was his wife? He said no. I admonished him for his conduct. He said he was nineteen years old, and had had several wives, and that he wanted one more, and he should be happy. It is natural to expect that but few children can be the fruit of such unbounded licentiousness. On an average there are about two or three to a family" — *Diary*, 91.

000 24½. The distinction here between "Indians" and "savages" implies that the former are Christian and the latter non-christian.

25. Goschgoschünk, in Venango County, Pennsylvania, a Delaware (Monsey) town on the Allegheny River — Edmund De Schweinitz, *Life and Times of David Zeisberger*, 324, *seq.* Few volumes relating to the

Middle West of pre-Revolutionary and Revolutionary days are written with the care and scholarly accuracy of this *Life of Zeisberger*, as we shall call it in our numerous references. It is a book of very great merit. 6lc

26. Canoes were often buried in the sand to preserve them through the winter. [50]

27. Heckewelder records that he has seen boys of ten and twelve whose limbs were so contracted by colds or "fits of sickness" that they were useless. *History*, 217. By all accounts pneumonia and consumption were exceedingly common among the Indians; cf. McClure, *Diary*, 67.

28. Heckewelder calls these bands *Happis;* by them, he asserts, Indians will carry a load "which many a white man would not have strength enough to raise from the ground"—*History*, 214.

29. Probably boils; possibly syphilitic sores.

30. It is of passing interest to note some of the remedies used by the Indians as given by the late Dr. Zina Pitcher, U. S. A., in Schoolcraft *History*, Pt. IV, pp. 502, *seq.*:

Disease.	Herb.	Remarks.
Fever	Eupatorium, cambium of horse chestnut, butternut, etc.	Carthartics.
Pleurisy	*Asclepias decumbens, Anthemis cotula and Polygonum prescoris.*	
Consumption	Poltices of mucillage of the *Ulmus americanus, etc.*	Consumption was treated as an ulcer and little understood.
Asthma	Saururus, benzoin, sassafras and *Istodes foetida.*	Palliative remedies.
Dyspepsia	Cambium of the *Æsculus glabra, juglans*, etc.	Little known save among tribes somewhat civilized.
Liver complaint and gravel	Arbutus-uva-ursi, spice-wood, gooseberry root, etc.	
Dysentery and Diarrhea	Blackberry, *Geranium maculatum, Spirea tomentosa, Quercus alba*, etc.	
Dropsy	Prickly ash (*Zanthoxylum americanum*) wild gooseberry (*Ribes trifolium*).	
Amenorrhoea	Sassafras, spice-wood, worm-wood.	

3;Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910

NM7 Delaware NM7

IROQUOIS NM9

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Disease.	Herb.	Remarks.
Hemorrhage	Powder of puff-ball (*Lycoperdon bovista*) pulverized charcoal.	
Wounds	Washed with decoction of lichen, bass-wood or slippery elm.	Great care was given to keeping up the suppurating process and keeping wounds open.
Ulcers	*Acorus calamus* and cautery.	
Salt Rheum	*Rumex crispus* or yellow dock.	
Phlegmon	Onion poltices.	
Gonorrhoea	Various species of genus Pinus.	The balsam used in modern remedies.
Syphilis	Local applications as for ulcers.	
Paralysis	None.	
Obstetrics:	*Sanguinaria canadensis* (blood-root) used to facilitate parturition.	

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31. Stings of poisonous reptiles were treated variously by the different tribes. The Senecas used a plant called *Polygala senega;* others used *Liatris spicata, Asclepias tuberosa, Prenanthus alba, Fraximus juglandifolia,* and many applied locally *Alisma plantago.* Scientists are today studying, for perhaps the first time, the action of various forms of venom and the appropriate remedies for each. The poison of the rattler destroys the tissues and blood-cells; that of the cobra paralyzes the nervous system. See Dr. J. T. Case, *Good Health,* June, 1900.

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32. Heckewelder distinguishes between "good" and "bad" medicine-men, terming the former "physicians and surgeons" and the latter "doctors or jugglers," but states of these latter, "I am sorry that truth obliges me to confess, that in their profession they rank above the honest practitioners." One whimsical conceit of the Indian doctor which well illustrates their superstition and "science" was that the water used to concoct an emetic must be dipped from a stream *against* the current, while for a cathartic it must be dipped *with* the current. Heckewelder, suffering from a painful felon, was put at ease within half an hour by an Indian woman who applied a poultice made from the root of the common blue violet. Heckewelder, *History,* 217-225.

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33. It would seem here that male practitioners were called to attend labor cases. Dr. Pitcher has asserted that, to his knowledge, only

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3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910

NM7 Delaware NM7

844

women officiated under such circumstances, Schoolcraft *History*, Pt. IV, 515. Loskiel refers to the efficiency of female doctors in child-birth. *History*, 110.

34. These primitive Turkish baths were, unquestionably, a great means of health to this race which suffered so largely from colds. Dr. McClure, who gives an interesting description of a sweating oven on the Muskingum, asserts, however, that to pulmonary disorders and small pox, the treatment was quite fatal. *Diary*, 67. 808

35. The Unamis, the chief tribe of the Delawares, lived on the Tuscarawas River. [131]

36. The Unalochtgos, the tribe of second importance, lived beside the Tuscarawas.

37. The Monseys lived mostly on the Big Beaver River.

38. Orange Co., N. Y.

39. It is refreshing, in the face of so many idealistic accounts of primitive Indian life to read these blunt, plain statements of facts from Zeisberger's pen. We probably know more accurately concerning the Six Nations than of any other Indians. One of the earliest reports claims that De Nonville's soldiers in 1687 destroyed a million and a quarter bushels of corn in four Seneca villages. And yet we know that the eating of children in time of utter famine was known among the Senecas — Cadwallader Colden, *History of the Five Indian Nations* (1755) II, 8. If such destitution could exist in a region exceedingly well watered and fertile, what of Indians not so fortunately placed?

40. Bracket fungus.

41. Remains of the Mound-building Indians. These were found on the site of at least one of the Moravian Mission towns, Lichtenau. De Schweinitz, *Life of Zeisberger*, 433, 436 *Note*.

42. Unquestionably a European idea; no mounds in the Middle West were high enough to serve the purpose of rolling blocks or stones. The greater part of the mounds so far opened prove to have been raised over charnel houses after the latter had been filled with bodies.

43. These facts concerning the wooden wampum and the substitute for wampum are of utmost interest.

44. Allegheny River.

45. Neville's Island? This is clearly, the Delaware tradition.

46. Tennessee River, commonly known in early days as the Cherokee River. See A. B. Hulbert's, "Washington's Tour to the Ohio," *Ohio State Arch. and Hist. Quart.* XVII, (Oct. 1908), 484.

46½. At the Treaty of Fort Stanwix?

47. Here begins Zeisberger's version of the legend of the conquest of the Iroquois over the Delawares, one of the famous Indian legends. It is possible that this Zeisberger account is the original English (German) version upon which so many versions have been based. Heckewelder (*History* 11) referring to the source of his information. 114

114 cites Loskiel, who had only Zeisberger's manuscript to follow. It is peculiar that Heckewelder should refer his readers to an authority who had no first-hand knowledge. Turning to Loskiel's version of the events which led up to the Delawares being made "women" we find (*History*, 124, *seq.*) that Zeisberger's plain account has been improved upon by being fashioned into formal speeches. These begin as follows:

"It is not profitable, that all the nations should be at war with each other, for this will at length be the ruin of the whole Indian race. We have therefore considered of a remedy, by which this evil may be prevented. One nation shall be the woman. We will place her in the midst, and the other nations who make war shall be the man, and live around the woman. No one shall touch or hurt the woman, and if anyone does it, we will immediately say to him, 'Why do you beat the woman?'"

By comparison it will be seen that Loskiel has put Zeisberger's words into the mouth of speakers, whereas Zeisberger did not include his account in quotation-marks, giving merely the story as it was told to him. Loskiel, by putting the same words into the mouths of the speakers and phrasing it all in the first instead of the third person, as Zeisberger wrote it, turned a legend into a seemingly accurate historical document. Parkman takes both Loskiel and Heckewelder to task for taking the story in "good faith," (*Conspiracy of Pontiac*, I, 31) but Loskiel had no reason to take Zeisberger's account as actual history; and De Schweinitz (*Life of Zeisberger*, 47) states that neither Zeisberger or Loskiel argue in favor of the story, while Heckewelder does. This forms an interesting example of the evolution of a legend into history: Zeisberger tells the Delaware legend, plainly and simply, in the third person; Loskiel forms it into speeches in the first person; Heckewelder takes these formal speeches and argues in their favor as true history.

8vo 48. Gourd or pumpkin.

48½. See William L. Stone, *The Life and Times of Sir William Johnson*, 214-215.

49. Woapanochky, "a people living toward the rising of the sun," was another name of the Delawares. Loskiel, *History* I, 2.

50. Albany, N. Y.

51. Bethlehem, Pa.

52. *Roccus lineatus* (Bloch) an important source of food to the early Virginians as attested by Captain John Smith and others.

53. *Alosa sapidissima* (Wilson).

13 54. Vernacular names of fishes are so numerous and so variable, the same common name being applied to very different fishes in different localities, that it is hard to identify some of these references with certainty. This however refers to *Perca flavescens* (Mitchill), commonly known as the yellow perch.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

55. *Stizostedion vitreum* (Mitchill) the pike or sauger. (136

56. *Lepisosteus osseus* (L.)

57. *Salvelinus fontinalis* (Mitchill), the speckled or brook trout.

58. *Anguilla chrysypa* Rafinesque.

59. *Phoca vitulina* L., the harbour seal, common farther north, though rare in this latitude even in salt water. Their occurrence at Wyoming nearly 200 miles up the Susquehanna River is quite remarkable, though other similar occurrences have been recorded. [137]

60. *Chamaecyparis thyoides* (L.), the white cedar.

61. *Alces americanus* (Clinton). The animals migrated south in the winter crossing the Niagara, or the Lakes on the ice.

62. *Salmo salar* Linnaeus, the Atlantic salmon, formerly very abundant in the Hudson River though now nearly or quite exterminated there.

63. *Anguilla chrysypa* Rafinesque. Possibly the author was more familiar with the lamprey eel, *Ichthyomyzon concolor* (Kirtland) in the Muskingum region, hence his reference to the more slender head of *Anguilla chrysypa.* However, inasmuch as there is but the one true eel in our fresh waters and the lamprey is small and seldom seen, it seems probable that the eels which the author knew in New York and along the Muskingum were of the same sort. In autumn there is a universal migration of the adult eels to the sea to spawn. The Indians, true to their insight into nature, made the best of this opportunity for securing them in great quantities. 200

64. Niagara Falls.

65. Probably one of the Three Sister Islands.

66. Oneida Lake.

67. Cayuga Lake.

68. Seneca and Ithaca Lakes.

69. *Pyrus coronaria* L., the American crab apple or wild apple. [137]

70. Mohawks.

71. Reference here is to Sullivan's expedition of 1779. The date of the writing of this history is here shown to be 1780.

72. Indicating that even with the unskilled cultivation of the Indians, the corn in different regions developed varieties each suited to its particular locality.

73. North Carolina.

74. Fort Frontenac, now Kingston, Canada.

75. One of the most elaborate descriptions of this route through Central Pennsylvania is given in Francis Baily's *Journal* of a *Tour in Unsettled parts of North America.* Sideling Hill is near the Juniata; Laurel Hill is a continuance of Chestnut Ridge, the latter being the local name of the range in Pennsylvania. Zeisberger's mention of it as the important western route at this period (pointing, as it does well back in the eighteenth century) is significant.

76. The parallel chains of the Blue Ridge now known as Second and Third and Peters Mountains, being at that time without a name, Conrad Weiser called them, on the occasion of Zinzendorf's second journey into the Indian country, "The Thurnstein" in honor of this distinguished personage, one of whose titles was Lord of Thurnstein.

77. Jack's Mountain.

78. The present Erie, Pa.

79. By way of French Creek. Perhaps no other authority gives the name of Venango or *Onenge* as the name of this stream.

80. Turtle Creek.

81. Ligonier, Pa.

82. Kentucky River.

83. Cuyahoga River.

84. Scioto River.

137 85. *Fragaria virginiana* Duchesne.

86. *Rubus nigrobaccus* Bail, the common blackberry and *Rubus villosus* L., the dewberry.

87. *Rubus occidentalis* L.

88. *Vaccinium pennsylvanicum* Lam., the dwarf blueberry.

89. *Ribes cynosbati* L., the prickly gooseberry.

90. *Ribes floridum* L'Her., the wild black current.

91. *Vaccinium macrocarpon* Ait, the common cranberry and *Viburnum opulus* L., the tree cranberry.

92. *Prunus serotina* Ehrh., the common wild cherry.

93. *Prunus pennsylvanica* L., and probably *Prunus cuneata* Raf.

94. *Prunus pumila* L., the sand cherry.

95. *Morus rubra* L., the common red mulberry.

96. *Prunus americana* Marsh.

97. *Vitis aestivalis* Michx.

98. *Vitis cordifolia* Michx. and *Vitis vulpina* L.

99. *Pyrus coronaria* L. and *Pyrus angustifolia* Ait., both occur along the Muskingum and probably both were used by the Indians.

100. *Corylus americana* Walt.

101. *Carya* species (?) Doubtless the Indians made use of most of the half dozen edible species of the region.

102. *Juglans cinerea* L.

103. *Juglans nigra* L.

104. *Assimina triloba* Dunal.

105. *Benzoin aestivale* (L.) the common spice-bush, apparently.

106. Spicebush.

107. *Castanea dentata* (Marsh).

108. An interesting reference to the Ohio Buckeye, *Aesculus glabra* Willd.

109. *Ipomoea pandurata* (L.) a relative of the morning glory with tuberous roots.

110. ***Podophyllum peltatum*** L., the root of which is still a staple medicinal herb.

110a. ***Quercus alba*** L., the white oak.

110b. ***Quercus velutina*** Lam., the black or quercitron oak.

110c. ***Quercus rubra*** L., red oak.

110d. ***Quercus falcata*** Michx., Spanish oak.

110e. ***Quercus palustris*** Muench., the swamp Spanish or pinoak.

111. Doubtless more than three!

112. ***Fraxinus americana*** L., is the most common one, though other species occur in the region.

113. ***Fagus grandifolia*** Ehrh. There is but one beech though the wood in some is quite different in color from that of others.

114. ***Sassafras variifolium*** (Salisb.)

115. ***Liriodendron tulipifera*** L., the tulip tree, commonly called poplar.

116. ***Castanea dentata*** (Marsh).

117. ***Tilia americana*** L., basswood or linden.

118. ***Acer saccharinum*** L., the silver maple is most abundant near the water, though *Acer saccharum* Marsh, the sugar maple, and var. *nigrum* (Mx) also occur in the bottom lands.

119. ***Carpinus caroliniana*** Walt., the American hornbeam, is usually known as water beech but this description evidently refers to the sycamore, *Platanus occidentalis* L., sometimes called water beech. There is no other reference which could apply to the sycamore and it was then as now, a conspicuous tree of the river banks.

120. ***Crataegus*** species (?) Several of the 65(!) species accepted by the seventh edition of Gray's *Manual* occur here.

121. ***Pyrus coronaria*** L., and ***Pyrus angustifolia*** Ait.

122. ***Fraxinus nigra*** Marsh., the black ash.

123. ***Gleditsia triacanthos*** L.

124. ***Cornus florida*** L.

125. The bark of *Cinchona succirubra* and other species of *Cinchona* from which quinine is prepared. The Cinchonas grow wild in the Andes Mountains.

126. ***Juniperus virginiana*** L.

127. ***Picea mariana*** (Mill.) Black or log spruce.

128. ***Pinus rigida*** Mill. Pitch pine.

129. ***Pinus strobus*** L. White pine.

130. ***Abies balsamea*** (L.)

131. ***Pinus pungens*** Lamb, the table mountain pine, presumably.

132. ***Ulmus americana*** L., and V. ***racemosa*** Thomas.

133. ***Betula nigra*** L., the river birch.

134. ***Populus tremuloides*** Michx., the American aspen.

135. ***Cladrastis lutea*** (Michx.).

136. Loskiel records that Indians sold oil to the whites "at four guineas a quart." *History*, 118.

020 137. A very questionable statement.

138. It is doubtful what Zeisberger means here by "marble;" possible it was gritty sandstone.

317 139. Iron Pyrites or "Fool's Gold."

140. Kaolin or China clay; colors in clays are due to impurities. The black clay which burns white evidently contained carbonaceous matter.

141. Yellow ochre.

142. Possibly a decoction made from polk-berries which would 137 stimulate the secretion of the glands of the breasts, etc.

143. *Rhus toxicodendron* L., the poison vine or poison ivy.

144. *Rhus vernix* L., the poison sumac, our most poisonous plant.

145. Not used by the medical profession today.

136 146. *Odocoileus virginianus* (Boddaert).

147. The introduction of the rifle was the first step in destroying Nature's balance as applied to man and the native wild animals. Doubtless the deer and buffalo easily held their own in spite of the onslaughts of the Indians until the rifle gave the Indians a tremendous advantage as compared with their former weapons.

148. *Ursus americanus* Pallas.

149. In many cases the Indians multiplied the species of our larger mammals, basing their ideas on one or two unusually large individuals they happened to meet, or on some peculiar condition of the pelage. There is only one species of bear known from eastern United States.

150. *Cervus canadensis* (Erxleben) the wapiti, or "American Elk." The author is correct. The wapiti is nearly related to the stag, *Cervus elaphus* L., of Europe and is not an elk at all.

151. *Bison bison* (L.)

152. *Felis couguar* Kerr.

153. *Lynx ruffus* (Guldenstaedt).

154. *Vulpes fulvus* (Dasmarest).

155. *Urocyon cinereoargenteus* (Schreber).

156. A black phase of the red fox *Vulpes fulvus.*

157. *Procyon lotor* (L.)

158. *Lutra canadensis* (Schreber).

159. *Castor canadensis* Kuhl.

160. The steel trap was another white man's invention which, placed in the hands of the Indians, proved most destructive to some of the animals which formerly held their own against the less effective methods of the Indians. The price paid for the pelts by the whites, was of course an additional factor in the destruction of many of the native animals.

161. *Didelphis virginiana* Kerr.

162. Certainly open to question and probably merely an Indian belief.

163. *Mephitis mephitis* Schreber. 136

164. *Erethizon dorsatum* (L.)

165. *Mustela americana* Turton, the pine marten or American sable, and the larger *Mustela pennautii* Exleben, the fisher, or fisher marten, both range into New York.

166. *Alces americanus* Clinton.

167. *Fiber zibethicus* (L).

168. A melanistic form of the next. At times in some localities it is very abundant.

169. *Sciurus carolinensis* Gmelin, the common grey squirrel.

170. *Sciurus hudsonicus loquax* Bangs.

171. *Tamias striatus lysteri* (Rich.)

172. *Marmota monax* (L.)

173. *Lynx canadensis* Kerr, the Canada lynx.

174. *Lepus floridanus mearnsi* Allen.

175. *Lepus americanus virginianus* Harlan, the varying hare.

176. Doubtless partial albinos of the common deer, *Odocoileus virginianus*.

177. An instance of the erroneous belief that an animal in any way conspicuously different from its fellows becomes a leader. On the contrary, the unfortunate variant is often mistreated by his fellows and sometimes even ostracised. "Sentiment" plays no part in the selection of leaders. It is simply a question of superior strength and endurance. 825

178. *Branta canadensis* (L.), the common wild goose, or Canada goose. Other species occur but are rare and probably never reared their young hereabouts. 136

179. *Aix sponsa* (L.) the beautiful wood duck. The young are said to be carried to the water in the bill of the parent.

180. Both *Mergus americanus* Cassin the American merganser or sheldrake, and *Lophodytes cucullatus* (L.,) the hooded merganser were formerly abundant in this region.

181. Probably the hooded merganser, which is said to be quite palatable, the flesh of the other mergansers being rank and fishy.

182. This is evidently *Grus mexicana* (Müll), the sandbill crane, a bird now very rare in Ohio.

183. *Olor columbianus* (Ord.), the whistling swan, and *Olor buccinator* (Rich.), the trumpeter swan, have been uncommon birds in this locality, the latter formerly breeding here. Both fit the description given. The former is now much less rare than the other.

184. *Meleagris galopavo silvestris* Vieill.

185. *Bonasa umbellus* (L.), the ruffed grouse or pheasant, a beautiful, harmless and valuable bird now in danger of extermination if not rigidly protected.

186. This apparently refers to *Tympanuchus americanus* (Reich.), the prairie hen, now exterminated in Ohio and not generally supposed

136 to have lived as far southeast as the Muskingum region, though it may possibly refer to the heath hen, *Tympanuchus cupido* (L.), once distributed from Massachusetts to Virginia, though doubtfully along the Muskingum, now extinct except on Martha's Vineyard Island, Mass. The heath hen is smaller than the ruffed grouse however.

187. *Ectopistes migratorius* (L.), the passenger pigeon, perhaps extinct, or if not already, it is most certain to become so.

188. *Zenaidura macroura carolinensis* (L.)

189. *Colinus virginianus* (L.), the bobwhite. The quail was formerly, while the dense forests were still undisturbed, much less abundant and generally distributed than in more recent years. One Ohio ornithologist, J. M. Wheaton, goes so far as to say that "— it was probably absent or at least confined to but few localities in the State at the time of its first settlement and has steadily increased in numbers as the forest has been cleared away." Report on the birds of Ohio, *Rep. Geol. Surv. Ohio*, (1882) IV, Pt. I, 440.

190. *Haliaeetus leucocephalus* (L.), the bald eagle.

191. Probably a young bald eagle. The young are three years in attaining the adult plumage, and often contend viciously with the parents for the possession of the nest to which the parents return year after year. Possibly this may have been a golden eagle, *Aquila chrysaetos* (L.), though it has apparently always been rare in the region and is not very pugnacious.

192. *Elanoides forficatus* (L.), the swallow-tailed kite, another beautiful, beneficial and entirely harmless great bird which is almost extinct and will probably never be seen in Ohio again, thanks to the skill of the brainless hunter!

193. The author did not distinguish between the red-tailed hawk, *Buteo borealis* (Gmel.) and the red-shouldered hawk *Buteo lineatus* (Gmel.), the two commoner species of large hawk.

194. Meaning probably *Falco peregrinus anatum* (Bonap.) the peregrine falcon or duck hawk, a near relative of the European "falcon gentil of song and story."

195. *Falco columbarius* L.

196. *Melanerpes erythrocephalus* (L.)

197. *Dryobates pubescens medianus* (Swains.), the downy woodpecker, and *Dryobates villosus* (L.), the hairy woodpecker, are almost alike except in size. Doubtless they were not distinguished. The former, the smaller one, is much the more abundant.

198. *Colaptes auratus luteus* Bangs, the flicker or yellow hammer.

199. *Conurus carolinensis* (L.), the Carolina paroquet, now almost extinct and long since disappeared from Ohio, another victim of the sportsman's gun and the milliner's art.

200. *Gavia immer* (Brünn.)

201. It seems hard to determine what this refers to but it is most likely the second year bald eagle. The young requires three years to acquire the adult plumage.

202. *Ceryle alcyon* (L.), the kingfisher, which nests in a hole in the bank.

203. *Ardea herodias* L., the great blue heron.

204. *Strix varia* (Barton), the barred owl and *Bubo virginianus* (Gmel.), the great horned owl, were both abundant in early days. The small owl referred to is doubtless the ubiquitous screech owl, *Otus asio* (L.) though several other owls occur in the region.

205. *Corvus brachyrhynchos* Brehm.

206. *Cathartes aura septentrionalis* Wied.

207. *Corvus corax principalis* Ridgw. Ornithologists have believed that in Ohio the raven occurred only in the northern part. This record for southern Ohio is as interesting as authentic.

208. *Butorides virescens* (L.), the green heron or fly-up-the-creek, is meant.

209. The author, without doubt here refers to *Planesticus migratorius* L., the common American robin. A European bird, *Merula merula*, a near relative of our robin, is black, has habits like our robin, and is commonly known as the blackbird. Before the white settlers came the robin doubtless lived in open places in the forest, so that in the author's experience it was met with only in breaks in the forest, usually remote from the Indian villages. With the opening up of clearings the robin made acquaintance with the white man and came to live in open groves and orchards. This the robin did in common with many of our other native birds which formerly lived only in the open places in the forest. With the coming of the white settlers these birds found congenial homes in the clearings and orchards where they were also less subject to the attacks of predaceous birds and mammals.

210. *Sialia sialis* (L.)

211. *Mimus polyglottos* (L.) Very rare in the locality now.

212. *Astragalinus tristis* (L.), the American goldfinch or yellow bird.

213. *Icterus galbula* (L.), the Baltimore oriole.

214. *Piranga rubra* (L.), the summer tanager or summer red-bird.

215. *Piranga erythromelas* Vieill., the scarlet tanager.

216. The European starling is a member of the black-bird family (Icteridae) hence this reference is to our black-birds, of which the common species are *Quiscalus quiscula aeneus* (Ridgw.) the bronzed grackle or crow black-bird, *Molothrus ater* (Bodd.), the cow-bird, and *Agelaius phoeniceus* (L.), the red-winged black-bird.

217. *Dumetella carolinensis* (L.)

218. The many dull-colored sparrows (Fringillidae), most of the thrushes (Turdidae), probably some of the warblers, (Mniotiltidae),

and doubtless other of the smaller birds are all here referred to as finches.

219. *Baeolophus bicolor* (L.), the tufted titmouse, and probably also *Parus atricapillus* (L.), the chickadee.

220. Though other species occur, *Thryothorus ludovicianus* (Lath.), the Carolina wren is the most abundant and most conspicuous species in this region.

221. *Archilochus colubris* (L.), the ruby-throated humming-bird.

222. *Crotalus horridus.* L.

223. *Ancistrodon contortrix* (L.)

224. *Heterodon platyrhinus* Latr. (probably var. *niger*) the spreading viper or hissing adder, an entirely harmless snake generally thought poisonous.

225. Apparently refers to *Natrix fasciata erythrogaster* Shaw, the red-bellied water-snake. The aquatic habits would seem to indicate this species. It is a harmless snake though generally thought poisonous.

226. Copperheads, *Ancistrodon contortrix* (L.), with the tail, as described, somewhat horny in appearance.

227. *Zamenis constrictor* (L.,) black snake or blue racer.

228. *Natrix fasciata sipedon* (L.)

229. *Eutaenia sirtalis* (L.), the garter snake.

230. *Liopeltis vernalis* (Dekay), the green or grass snake.

231. *Stizostedion vitreum* (Mitchill), the pike perch or jack salmon. The former large size of this fish is attested by the following: "The pike is the king of fish in the western rivers. Judge Gilbert Devoll took a pike in the Muskingum which weighed nearly one hundred pounds, on the 2nd day of July, 1788. He was a tall man but when the fish was suspended on the pole of the spear from his shoulder, its tail dragged on the ground, so that is was about six feet in length. This enormous fish was served up on the 4th of July at a public dinner." S. P. Hildreth, *Pioneer History*, 408.

232. Refers to one or more than one species of sucker. Probably *Moxostoma aureolum* (Le Sueur), the common red-horse, was most taken, though *Catostomus commersonii* (Lacepede), the white sucker, *Cycleptus elongatus* (Le Seur), the black-horse, and other species are not uncommon.

233. *Ictiobus cyprinella* (Cuvier & Valenciennes), the large mouthed buffalo, *Ictiobus bubalus* (Rafinesque), the small-mouthed buffalo, and *Ictiobus urus* (Agassiz), the black buffalo, are species resembling each other closely. All occur in the region.

234. The calcareous earstones or otoliths.

235. Several species of catfish occur in the Muskingum. Among the valuable food species are *Ictalurus punctatus* (Rafinesque), the blue cat, *Ameiurus lacustris* (Walbaum), the Mississippi cat, *Ameiurus nebulosus* (Le Sueur), the bull head, and *Leptops olivaris* (Rafinesque), the mud cat. The Ohio catfish sometimes weigh sixty or seventy pounds.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

136

236. *Acipenser rubicundus* Le Sueur.

237. *Lepisosteus osseus* (L.), the gar pike.

238. *Polydon spathula* (Walbaum), the spoon-bill cat.

239. *Aplodinotus grunniens* Rafinesque, the white perch, called also fresh water drum in allusion to its producing a grunting or drumming noise.

240. *Perca flavescens* (Mitchill).

241. *Anguilla chrysypa* Rafinesque. Possibly the author was more familiar with the so-called lamprey eel, *Ichthyomyzon concolor* (Kirtland) (cf. note 63), in the region of the Muskingum.

242. This is a very peculiar reference to the water dogs, *Necturus maculatus* Rafinesque, the water dog with external gills, and *Cryptobranchus alleganiensis* (Daudin), the hell-bender or water dog without external gills.

243. *Trionyx spinifer* (Le Sueur), the common soft shelled turtle.

244. *Cistudo carolina* (L.), the common box or wood tortoise.

245. There are many species of mussels belonging to the genera, *Unio*, *Anodonta*, *Lampsilis*, etc., occurring in the region and the shells of several of these have a colored nacrous layer.

246. Other *Unio* species (?).

247. The snails, most likely referring to the larger species of *Helix* and related forms, were innocent of any connection with the gad flies.

248. In places where cattle destroy the weeds and other dense vegetation, conditions are not agreeable either to the snails or the gad flies, hence both are less abundant. These gad flies (family Tabanidae), *Tabanus*, *Chrysops*, etc., more commonly known as the horse fly, deposit their eggs on aquatic plants near the surface of the water and the larvae live in the mud and water feeding upon various soft bodied aquatic animals, snails among the rest, but of course not upon the land snails which the author apparently had in mind.

249. The frog with the call described is one of the tree frogs, *Hyla pickeringii* Storer, which lives near the water in spring and early summer. The Hylas go to the water very early in spring to deposit their eggs. The most common Hyla is *Hyla versicolor* Le Conte. The frogs the Mingoes caught were doubtless not the little hylas but more likely the leopard frog, *Rana virescens* Kalm, and the green frog, *Rana clamata* Daudin.

250. *Rana clamata* Daudin.

251. *Rana catesbiana* Shaw.

252. It would be interesting to know if the pestiferous house mouse, *Mus musculus* L., had even then reached this locality. The reference is most likely to the white footed mouse, *Peromyscus leucopus* (Rafinesque.)

050 253. The reader will not fail to note that Zeisberger, writing at the beginning of the last quarter of the eighteenth century continually pictures the Indian as he once was; his tenses are largely past tenses and he shows the contemporary Indian as a degenerate. It will be remembered that Pontiac's appeal to the red race in 1763 was for regeneration, for the abandonment of the practices learned of the white man and readoption of the lost arts of forest life which were rapidly being forgotten. Lack of respect for old age was one of the important signs of racial degeneration. Does this apply to the red race only? Heckewelder's chapter on "Respect for the Aged," pictures the red man in the primitive state but his tenses are present tenses, though writing at the beginning of the nineteenth century. *History*, 152-158.

254. Heckewelder states that when parents negotiate a marriage the bridegroom's mother acts as negotiatrix. The latter "begins her duties by taking a good leg of venison, or bear's meat . . to the house where the bride dwells, not forgetting to mention, that her son has killed it." The bride's mother soon brings in return some fruit or handiwork produced by her daughter. If both the children expressed themselves favorably towards the respective gifts, the matter was quickly arranged; if not, the affair was at an end.

386 255. A Yellow ochre, found near the Muskingum, when burnt, made a rich red paint, which Indians came many miles to obtain. Vermillion River in Ohio derived its name from the clay there obtained for painting; the same was true of Paint Creek.

256. Figures of animals being most commonly used, especially the turtle, deer, bear and wolf.

257. Heckewelder records: "The women make use of vermillion in painting themselves for dances, but they are very careful and circumspect in applying the paint, so that it does not offend or create suspicion in their husbands; there is a mode of painting which is left entirely to loose women and prostitutes." *History*, 196.

600 258. The Revolutionary war.

259. The Delaware leader often called King Newcomer, from his capital Newcomerstown or Gekelemukpechunk, Ohio, who refused to attend Bouquet's treaty in 1764 at Coshocton. A generous friend of the Moravians. See De Schweinitz, *Life and Times of Zeisberger*, 366, *seq.*

260. The writer speaks from notable experience, the archives of the Six Nations, than which no Indian archives were of equal moment, were deposited in Zeisberger's house at Onondaga during his residence at that mission. See *Bethlehem Diary*, Aug. 2, 1755.

261. 4 s. 4 d.

[436] 262. The primitive wampum was made of pieces of wood variously stained with different colors.

263. Containing four, eight or twelve fathoms of wampum.

264. A most interesting fact perhaps noted by no other authority.

265. Little Turtle, the famous Miami Chief, was such by choice and not by birth; for, though his father was a Miami chief, his mother was of common stock. 65

266. A terrible scene of drunkenness in the capital of the Delawares on the Muskingum is described by Dr. McClure, *Diary* 73-76.

267. The famous Delaware leader who assisted Netawatwees and befriended and favored the Colonies in the Revolution; Loskiel describes him as the man who "kept the chiefs and council in awe"—*History* III, 101.

268. It happens to be a matter of record that both Netawatwees and White Eyes transgressed each their authority during the Revolution, the former taking the initiative for war (De Schweinitz, *Life of Zeisberger*, 415) and White Eyes overstepping the bounds on the occasion of his visit to the American Congress (*Id.* 438.)

269. The battle at Point Pleasant in Dunmore's War between General Lewis and Cornstalk's Shawanese was the notable example of Indian preservation of the bodies of their dead from capture. During the night after the engagement all the killed and wounded were removed across the Ohio River unknown to the white army.

270. A gourd or pumpkin.

271. The Revolution.

272. Treaty of Fort Stanwix?

273. Catawbas.

274. Mohicans, a New England tribe.

275. Twightwees, called "Flatheads" in Pennsylvania, the Miamis.

276. Wawiachtenos, located in Indiana.

277. Kickapoos, settled west of Lake Michigan.

278. Tukashas? a western tribe.

279. Potawatomies of Indiana.

280. Kaskaskias, located on the river of the same name.

281. Wabash.

282. Creeks.

283. Zeisberger here follows Delaware traditions. The Shawanees were permitted to settle in Pennsylvania by the Six Nations. According to the legend given by Heckewelder, (*History*, 70-71) there was bitter warfare between the Shawanese and the Delawares.

284. Wyoming.

285. Neville's Island, below Pittsburg?

286. Kittaning, Armstrong County, Pennsylvania, at the end of the Kittaning Trail or "Ohio Path," as called on Scull's map.

287. Economy, Pa.

288. Reference here is to Dunmore's War, 1774, and the depot of Cornstalk at Point Pleasant, West Virginia.

289. Chippewas.

290. Wyoming, Pennsylvania.

291. Big Bone Lick, Kentucky.

291½. This information is of great value. It makes sure the fact that the Hurons were identical with the *Talamatans* mentioned by Cyrus Thomas, "Indian Tribes in Prehistoric Times," *Mag. Amer. History*, XX, 8. (Sept. 1888.)

292. White Eyes declared the Delawares independent at Pittsburg in 1775, but the Iroquois refused to admit this until the treaty of Greenville in 1795. Cf. Heckenwelder, *History*, 52-53; also De Schweinitz, *Life of Zeisberger*, 253.

293. Gelelemend. The weakness of this chief is fully described by De Schweinitz, *Life of Zeisberger*, 473, *seq.* The Europeans mentioned may have included General Morgan, Matthew Elliott, Simon Girty, etc.

294. The Delawares are said to have been so called because they were found on the river named from Lord De La Ware.

295. Sioux.

296. Soup.

297. Calico.

298. Such a compact seems to have existed between White Eyes and the noted warrior Glikkikan. De Schweinitz, *Life of Zeisberger*, 404.

299. An extremely interesting explanation of the origin of the name "Big Knives", the story here has truer ring, to our minds, than that which states that the tale came from Colonel Gibson and his sword. Cf. C. H. Mitchner, *Historic Events in the Muskingum and Tuscarawas Valleys*, 143.

300. Nantocoke, corrupted from *Nechticok*. The tribe, descendants of the Delawares, lived on the Maryland river of the same name.

301. Heckewelder states in his chapter on "Superstition" that a white man once informed him that a noted sorcerer once confessed that the source of their power was mental, the stronger mind acting on the weaker. "Such is the credulity of many," the sorcerer stated, "that if I only pick a little wool from my blanket and roll it between my fingers into a small round ball . . it is immediately supposed that I am preparing the deadly substance with which I mean to strike some person or other." —*History*, 233-4.

301½. Great Kanawha. The reference is to Dunmore's War.

301⅓. Concerning this remark we can only say with De Schweinitz, "We neither adopt these views of Zeisberger, nor pronounce them absurd. In the present aspect of demonolgy, opinions of this kind remain an open question." *Life of Zeisberger*, 341. Zeisberger's chief experience with sorcerers seems to have been in the Seneca country at the Munseytown of Goschgoschunk on the Allegheny. Here the sorcerers banded together in a conspiracy to undo the missionaries work and drive them off. *Id.* 341.

302. 1748-9.

303. Waketameki, the Indian town near Dresden, O., was called "Vomit Town" by Indian traders because some of its inhabitants attempted to achieve salvation by emetics. The reference here may be to these poor dupes. Cf. De Schweinitz, *Life of Zeisberger*, 363.

304. Big Stillwater Creek, was *Gegelemukpechunk Sipo.* The town was the first Delaware Capital at its junction with the Muskingum near Newcomerstown, Ohio; spelled Gekelemukpechuenk by Loskiel and Kekalemahpehoong by Dr. David McClure.

305. Like the famous eat-all feasts of the northern nations.
306. Monseys.
307. Mohicans.
308. Or Iroquois and Algonquin.
309. Minisink, Orange County, N. Y.
309½. Probably Cassiopeia.
310. *Hirundinidae.*
311. *Macrorhamphus griseus* (Probably).
312. *Larus* (sp.?)
313. *Aegialitis vocifera*, larger variety.
314. *Agelaius phoeniceus.*
315. *Antrostoma vociferus.*
316. *Zenaidura macroura.*
317. *Chordeiles virginionus.*
318. *Apina.*
319. *Vespina.*
320. *Sciuroptems volans.*
321. *Crotalus honiddus.* Probably a young specimen.
322. *Laurus* (sp.?).

3;Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

INDEX.

A.

000 *Aboriginal Races of North America, The,* see Drake.
Account of the History, Manners and Customs of the Indian Nations, An, see Heckewelder.
Achewilens, a "rich man," 146.
Achsunnamunschi, Delaware name for sugar maple, 48.
Admonition, Indians resent, 150.
Adultery, retaliated, 77.
Age, few Indians knew their, 145.
Aged, charms made by, 83-84; favored in the chase, 91; well cared for, 123.
Agriculture, Christian Indians give up hunting for, 14; cf. 44.
Allegheny, region described, 42; weather in, 42.
Allegheny mountain, mentioned, 42.
Allegheny River, early name, 53; described, 42-43.
Alligewi Sipo, see Allegheny River.
Ambassadors, how received, 93.
Amenorrhoea, treatment for, 157.
Ancestors, prowess long remembered, 146-147.
April, name for month of, 145.
Arithmetic, Indians made no progress in, 144.
Arrow-heads, knives made from flint, shaped like, 28.
Ash tree, 47.
Aspen trees, 52.
Asthma, treatment for, 157.
August, name of month of, 145.

B.

Babes, carrying boards falling into disuse in 1780, 85-86; common cause of injury to, 85.
Baily, Francis *Journal of a Tour in unsettled parts of North America,* cited, 161.
Ball, game described, 118.
Banta, Dr. A. M., mentioned, 9.
Beads, strings of, 94.
Bean, see "Earth bean".
Bear, season, 13; in swamps, 30; in Muskingum Valley, 57; dens noted by hunters, 57; hunted in the spring, 57; love of nuts, 57; skins of little value, 57; "King" of, 58; fond of pigs, 58; seized women and children, 58; more common in Iroquois country, 59; and panther fight, 60; sacrificed to dead, 140.
Beard, pulled out, 12.
Beaver, season, 18; described, 61; scarce in 1780, 61; fur valuable, 61; caught by perfumed decoy, 61; dams, described, 61-62; tail edible, 62; hunted constantly, 62.
Beils, nature of, 17, 155; clothing, 17.
Bed-bugs, common in Indian lodges, 75.
Beach, white and red, 47.
Bees, unknown in Ohio before Moravians came, 152.
Belts, custom of giving, 22; see wampum.
Bequests, of dead carefully carried out, 88.
Berries, Muskingum Valley, 45.
Beson, described, 25; see doctors.
Bethlehem Diary, cited, 170.
Bibliography, Zeisberger, 10-11.
Big Beaver River, Monseys lived on, 150.
Big Bone Lick, mentioned, 110.
"Big Knives", origin of expression, 122, 172.
Big Stillwater Creek, mentioned; 172.
Birds, of Middle West, 65 *seq.*
Blanc Barbus, The, mentioned, 154.
Blackbird, mentioned, 69.
Black Snake, in fight with a hawk, 72.
Blem, Turkey tribe, 92.
Bliss, E. F., *Diary of David Zeisberger,* mentioned, 4.
Blood-letting, common, 27; method of, 27.
Bloody flux, mentioned, 24.
Bluebird, mentioned, 69.
Boards, for carrying papooses, in disfavor, 85.
Bodies, of Indians weaker than Europeans, 149.
Boils, common, 149.
"Bottoms", chosen by Indians because of rich soil, 44.
Bracelets, use of, 15.
Bracket fungus, mentioned, 30.

3: Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

000

Breasts, Indian method of increasing secretions of, 164.
Bread, sacrificed to fish, 130.
Breathing, "doctors" cured by, 23.
Brown, Peter A., quoted, 164.
Buffalo, hides of little value, 13; described, 59; tamed, 59; deserted Muskingum Valley, 58; calves remained with dead dam's skin, 59; on Wabash, 110.
Buffalo — fish, mentioned, 73.
Burial, customs, 88-89.
Burning at the stake, described, 106-107.
Butter, Indians use of, 14.
Buzzard, mentioned, 68.

C.

Cabinet work, black walnut used in, 46.
Camp, Indians late in breaking, 22; methods of making, 22; time of pitching, 22; sites, easily identified, 114.
Canada, Moose migrate from, 59.
Cannibalism, known only among Iroquois, 107, 158.
Canoes, use of, 23; methods of making, 23; described, 39; buried in winter, 157.
Captains, attend council, 98; can declare war but not peace, 98, 100; choose and remove chiefs, 98; represent the people, 98; hold up hands of Chiefs, 100; deference paid to, 101; methods of choosing and training, 101-105; must prove right to office, 101-102; live in accord with Chiefs, 102; duties in war, 103-105; send other captains tobacco, 108; preserve life in battle by medicine, 127.
Cards, Indians played, 118.
Carrying girths, use and manufacture of, 16, 24.
Case, Dr. J. T., on modern treatment for snake bite, 158.
Cassiopeia, see Stars.
Cat-bird, mentioned, 69.
Cat-fish mentioned, 73; drowned a fisherman, 73.
Cattle, Indians rarely kept, 14; belong to women, 16; easily cared for in Ohio in winter, 45; prevented grazing in daytime by gadflies, 75.
Cayuga Lake, mentioned, 39.
Cedar, swamps in New York, 37; red, 61.
Charms, for bringing presents, 63; to hold lovers true, see Love Charm.
Chase, charm for hunters in the, 63.
Chauwalanne, Indian name for species of Eagle, 67; approach foretells bad weather, 67.
Cheating, common, 19.
Cherokee River, see Tennessee.
Chestnuts, mentioned, 46-47.
Chiefs, attempt to stop liquor traffic, 90; of Tortoise tribe first take rank, 91; not absolute rulers, 92; must make themselves loved and honored, 92-93; expected to entertain, 93; must supply his own wants, 93; perform common services, 93; must keep the tribe in good repute abroad, 93; hold the council bag and keep the archives, 93-94; leadership in the council, 94-97; supported by wealthy members of the tribe, 95; speak in council through a spokesman, 96; use of figurative language, 97; principal duty to maintain peace, 98-99; have no right to begin war, 98; must accede to captains if latter declare for war, 99; how chosen and deposed, 98; must be member of tribe over which he rules, 98; cannot be succeeded by sons, 98; have oversight of embassies, 99; must keep his tribe together, 99; must keep his town in order without use of force, 99; usually obeyed readily, 99-100; combat liquor, 100; possessions distributed to all the tribe, 100; chosen by common consent, 100; control the captains, 100; chosen by one tribe for another, 112; ceremony of election, 112; ignored if not properly elected, 113; may be admonished by chiefs or people, 113; practices on a journey, 119; method of disclosing a secret, 120; determine prosperity of the tribe, 123; in mourning, 150; death of, 155.
Children, not made to work, 16; seldom punished, 16, 81; sleep apart, 17; clothing, 17; marital bond loose if there are no, 20, 79, 85; lack respect for age, 79; customs in naming, 80; called by name, 80; allowed to do as they please, 81; women sometimes punish, 81; orphan treated kindly, 81; loved, 85; property of mother,

ObO

[illegible]; may stay with *father* in case of separation, 90; Indians fond of white, 141.
Chills and *fever*, mentioned, 24.
China Clay, see Kaolin.
Christian Indians, give up hunting and take up agriculture, 14.
Chwoame Gischuch, "Shad month", (see March).
Cinnabar, used to dye shirts, 87.
Claws, *deer*, used for rattles, 105.
Clay, four kinds, 43.
Cleanliness, little practiced, 16, 86; more common among Delawares than Iroquois, 17.
Coffins, made by later Indians, 89.
Colden, Cadwallader, *History of the Five Indian Nations*, cited, 180.
Consciences, missionaries, only, knew the Indians, 99.
Consumption, treatment for, 157; not benefited by sweating-ovens, 158.
Conversation, peculiarities of, 118.
Copperheads, described, 71.
Coral, used in dress, 86.
Corn, in Iroquois country, 40; the "wife" of the Indian, 139; bear's flesh sacrificed to, 139; sacrificed to deer and bear, 139.
Corn-meal, food and drink for journeying made of, 22.
Corpse, how prepared for burial, 88; disentombed by Nantikokes after three months, 90.
Council bag, kept by Chiefs, 99; succession of, 100.
Council house, purpose, 98.
Councils, ceremony observed, 91, 96; young men admitted to learn use of formal language, 96; smoking at, 96; women never admitted, 96; provisions for, 96; discussions at, 97; speeches sent in name of three tribes, 111.
Counsellors, duties, 98, 99; not always consulted, 123.
Counting, methods of, 144.
Courting, methods of, 78.
Cowardice, common to redmen, 10.
Crab-apples, mentioned, 46, 161.
Crane, described, 65; will attack its enemy, 65; unpalatable to Indian, 66; trumpeting, 65.
Creation, Indian idea of, 128.
Credit, Indians glad to buy on, 117.
Crows, did much damage, 68.
Cursing, unknown among Indians, 88; see Obscenity.
Cuyahoga River, mentioned, 45, 162.

D.

Dances, daily indulged in, 19; customs, 18, 118; houses, 18; music, 18; treaty, 121; war, 121; Iroquois dance War Dance in time of peace, 121; at feasts, 127.
Dead, bequests carefully carried out, 88; sacrificed to, 140; meat (hog or bear) offering to, 140; drink (rum) offering to, 140.
Death, distribution of belongings after, 87-88; feared by Indians, 148.
Debts, customs concerning, 92; Indians slow to pay, 117; cancelled at outbreak of war, 117.
Deceit, Indians master of, 19.
Declaration of War, how made, 114.
December, name for month, 146.
Deer, most sought for game, 13; killed for hides only, 14; each Indian kills 150 every fall, 14; hoe made of shoulder-blade of, 29; described, 67; colors of coat, 13, 67; facts concerning young, 67; value of pelts, 67; White, called by Indians "King", 64; Indian boy celebrates killing his first, 75; corn sacrificed to, 139.
Deer claws, used as rattles, 105.
Degeneration, of Indians, mentioned, 130, 131, 135.
Delaware River, Shawanese lived at forks of, 108.
De Schweinitz, Edmund, *Life and Times of David Zeisberger*, cited, 166, 169, 169, 170, 172.
Desertion, not uncommon, 82; barrenness causes, 86.
Devil, Indian idea of, 130; found only among white people, 130.
Diarrhoea, common, 149; remedies for, 150, 157.
Diary of David Zeisberger, mentioned, 4.
Dice, the Indian "National" game, 118; long game between two Iroquois towns, 118.
Diet, Indian, 118.
Diseases, of Indians, 24 *seq.*
Dishes, seldom washed, 18, 86.
Dislocations, well reduced by Indians, 149.

ODD

Divorce, fate of children in case of, 89-90.
Doctors, charlatanism of, 25 *seq;* practices of, 25, 149; prices charged by, 26; remedies secret, 150; labor cases attended by both male and females, 158.
Dogs, make houses filthy, 17; wolfish nature of Indian, 81.
Dog-wood, mentioned, 51.
Drake, Samuel Gardner, *The Aboriginal Races of North America,* cited, 154.
Dreams, determine profession to be followed; 101; influence of, 129; pretended, 130; effects on boys, 127-128.
Dress, Indian's, 15; *female,* 86.
Dropsy, treatment for, 157.
Drums, how made, 18.
Ducks, wild, 65; migrate, 65.
Dug-outs, method of making, 30.
Duties, of men, 13, 87; of women, 13, 82, 87.
Dysentery, mentioned, 24, 157.

E.

Eagle, described, 67; nests, 67; brave fighter, 67; killed by fish, 67; "Forked", 67.
Ear, cutting helix, 12.
Earth, Indian notions concerning the, 147, 148.
"Earth-bean", 47.
Eat-all feasts, mentioned, 139, 173.
Eels, of Pennsylvania, 39; of New York, 39; rare in the Muskingum River, 74.
Election, of Chief, ceremony, 112, 113.
"Elephants", supposed to have existed in America, 110.
Elk, hides of little value, 13; gave name to Muskingum River, 44; found along Muskingum as late as 1780, 44; compared to European stag, 56; mentioned, 164.
Elm-wood, paste made of, 23.
Elm-tree, mentioned, 51.
Embassy, Cherokee to Delawares, 150, 151.
Embassies, how chosen and sent, 96.
Emetic, administered to bring luck, 84; whimsical Indian concoction for, 138. cf. "Vomit Town".
Epilepsy, not common, 149; bloodletting for, 149.
Europeans, Indian estimate of the, 121; disguise secret enmity toward, 122; devil originated among, 130.

F.

Famine, threatened primeval Indians, 18, 156.
Fauna, of Muskingum Valley, 57, *seq.*
Feasts, 137; see Worship.
February, name of month of, 146.
Felon, cured by blue violet decoction, 158.
Female diseases, treatment of, 86.
Fevers, Indian treatment of, 25, 157; able to predict result of, 56.
Fields, abandoned by Indians, 44.
Figurative language, cleverly used, 97.
Finches, mentioned, 69.
Finery, Indian women loved, 86; men disregard, 86.
Fir-trees, mentioned, 51.
Fire, worshipped, 139; "grandfather" of Indians, 128.
Firewood, early method of making, 29.
Fish, Indians cook well, 14; Iroquois lived on, 39; killed an eagle, 67; of Muskingum River, 73; bread sacrificed to, 139.
Flint, used to make knives, 28.
Flood", legend of "The, 131-132.
Food, always well cooked, 14.
Fool's Gold (Iron pyrites), 164.
Fort Frontenac, mentioned, 41, 162.
Fort Ligonier, mentioned, 43.
Fox, season for hunting, 13; three kinds, 60.
French Creek, Venango early name of, 42; *Onenge* Indian name of, 42, 162.
Friedenshütten, mentioned, 36.
Friends, do not desire possession of deceased friends, 89.
Friendships, Indian boys form peculiar, 119.
Frogs, mentioned, 75.
Fuel, determined location of towns, 87; gathered by women, 87.
Funeral observances, 89, 90; of Nantikokes, 90.
Future life, Indian idea of, 129.

G.

Gadflies, prevent cattle grazing in the daytime, 75.

600

Game, killed by Indian belonged to wife, 10; larger in North than in South, 14.
Games, description of Indian, 118-119; certain taken from Europeans, 118.
Gar-pike, mentioned, 73, 74.
Geese, wild, 60; migrate, 65.
Gekelmukpechunk [*Gekelemukpechuenk*] mentioned, 130, 170.
Gelelemend, mentioned, 172.
Genealogies, Indians well versed in, 146.
Geological Survey of Ohio, cited, 166.
Gifts, made trouble, 124.
Girths, see Carrying girths, hemp.
Glikkikan, mentioned, 172.
God, ideas of, 128-129; mentioned by impostors, 133-135; reverenced in feats, 138; dwells beyond sun rising, 138; worshipped in sweating-ovens, 138.
Gold, whatever glitters Indians called, 54.
Good Health, cited, 158.
Gonorrhoea, treatment for, 158.
Goschgosching, mentioned, 22, date of beginning mission at, 33.
Goschgoschuenk, Delaware (Monsey) town on Allegheny River, 156.
Gossip, Indian women, 116, 124.
Government, of each Indian nation, independent, 92; of Indian nations, described, 92 *seq.*
Gravel, treatment of, 157.
Grain, bottom-land too rich to grow winter, 44; high ground chosen for, 44.
Graves, how made, 88-89; face the west, 89; visited by friends, 89-90; of children visited by mothers, 140.
Great Lakes, extent, 43; traders on, 43.
Greeting, Indian method, 115; never hypocritical, 115.
Ground-hog, described, 64; eaten by Indians, 64; chews its cud, 64.
Grouse, method of escaping pursuers, 66.
Guests, well treated, 120.
Gull, mentioned, 152.
Guns, rifle-barrelled, used by Delawares and Shawanese, 86.

H.

Hackihewi Gischuch, "planting month", see April.
Hair, nature of Indian's, 12; turns white, 12; styles of, 12; treatment of women's, 12; reason for its straightness, 184.
Hare, described, 64; white, 64; worshipped, 140; strange legend concerning, 140.
Haste, journeying Indians seldom in, 22.
Hats, some Indians wore, 15.
Hatchets, manufacture, 29; purpose of, 28.
Hawk, mentioned, 67; in fight with a blacksnake, 72.
Hawthorne, bush, mentioned, 47.
Headache, rum sacrificed to, 140; treatment for, 148.
Headstones, erected, 89; red, for Captains, 89; physicians, adorned with tortoise shell, 89; warriors, bear record of exploits, 89.
Heckewelder, John, *An Account of the History, Manners and Customs of the Indian Nations*, quoted on temper of Indian women, 155; on marital fidelity, 155; on Indian pride, 156; on Indian courage, 156; on alleged hardships of Indian women, 155; on Indian division of ownership, 155; cited, 157, 158, 159, 170, 172.
Hell, unknown to Indians, 139; see *Machtandonwinck;* Cf. 134-135.
Hemorrhage, mentioned, 24, 158.
Hemp, used to make carrying girths, 16, 23; mentioned, 155.
Heron, mentioned, 68.
Hickory trees, mentioned, 47.
Hides, skinned by flint knives, 28.
History of the Five Indian Nations, see Colden.
History . . . of the Indian Tribes, The, see Schoolcraft.
History of the Mission of the United Brethren, see Loskiel.
Hoe, deer shoulder-blade used for, 28.
Hog, meat offering to the dead, 140.
Home life, described, 81, 82; division of labor, 82.
Honey-locust, mentioned, 47.
Hoop-ash, barrel hoops made from, 47.
Hoopoe, mentioned, 68.
Horn-fish, mentioned, 37.
Horn-snake, see Copperhead.
Horses, belong to men, 16; used little by Indians except for riding, 87; Indians too lazy to break, 87.
Hospitality, Indian, 120, 121.
Housekeeping, customs, 16.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

Houses, character of, 17; description of Iroquois, 17; Indians learn to build regular, 18; interior, described, 60; rarely locked, 122.

Hulbert, A. B., *Washington's Tour to the Ohio*, cited, 150.

Humming bird, mentioned, 69.

Hunting, appropriate seasons for, 13; Christian Indians give up, 14; feasts, to bring luck in, 84; parties, rules governing, 91; favor to old men, 91; grounds, Kickapoos gave Delawares and Wyandots, on Wabash, 142.

Hypocrites, Indians poor, 115.

I.

Idol, Indians had one, 141.

Indians (in general) Stature, 12; color, 12; hair, 12; ornaments, 12; several duties of men and women, 13, 82; raised vegetables by, 13; hunting, 13; sugar boiling, 13, 82; change customs upon conversion, 14; have few cattle, 14; fond of milk and butter, 14; eat only well-cooked food, 14; kill game for skins only, 14; rarely shoot wolves, 14; modes and materials of dress, 15; state dress, 15; shoes, 15; hats, 15; women's dress, 15; women's ornaments, 15; jewelry, 15; gave women results of chase, 16; women supply the men, 16; division of ownership of cattle and horses, 16; lax control of children, 16; girls labor, 16; use of wild hemp, 16, 25, 155; uncleanliness of utensils, 16; dogs unclean, 17; beds and tables, 17; mats, 17; blankets, 17; boys and girls sleep apart, 17; women's attire, 17; children's clothing, 17; huts and houses, 17; Iroquois and Delaware huts compared, 17; learn to build houses of whites, 18; laziness, 18; labor of old men and boys, 18; games, (dice and ball), 18; dance every night, 18; noisy dancing, 18; musical drums, 18; pride, 18; belief in dreams, 19; in Satan's power, 19; masters of deceit, 19; credulous, 19; cheating and stealing, 19; thieves go unpunished, 19; hide anger, 19; remember revenge, 19; peace-makers, 19; quarrels settled by payment of wampum, 19; cowards, 19; treacherous, 19; known only by long acquaintance, 20; grossly immoral, 20; immorality proven by lack of children, 20; only aged moral, 21; love of children, 21; have concubines, 21; families sometimes large, 21; capacity for work, 21; clever mentally, 21; excel in iron work, etc., 21; superiority in the forest, 21; never lost, 21; never balked on a journey, 22; always find food, 22; never in haste on journey, 22, 120; break camp late in the day, 22, 120; eat heartily before journeying, 22, 120; camp at sun down, 22, 120; use of snow shoes, 22; food taken on journeys, 22, 120; canoes quickly made, 23; elm paste for repairing canoes, 23; diseases due to exposures, 23; suffer from rheumatism, sores, chills, fevers, dysentery, venereal diseases, 24, 55; modes of carrying burdens, 24; poor nurses, 24; treatment of sick, 24; knowledge of herbs, 24; doctors, 25; superstitions, 25; treat external injuries, with success, 25; cure snake bite, 25; become doctors when they grow old, 25; pay doctors large fees, 25; feign to cure with breath, 25; use sweating-ovens frequently, 26; doctor's practices, 26; methods of blood-letting and cupping, 27; recollections of early history, 27; legend of coming of whites, 27; primitive implements, 28; tobaccos, 28; knives, 28; hatchets, 28; kettles and pots, 29; stories of primitive hunting customs, 29; primitive blankets, 29; ancient use of bow, 29; primitive fire-making and carrying, 29; underground dwellings, 30; early dogs, 31; early wampum, 31; legend of Iroquois conquest of Delawares, 32; acquaintance with and use of petroleum oil, 32; make little use of salt springs, 53; ceremony when boy kills his first deer, 75; ancient respect for old age, 76; lack of respect for age sign of decay, 76; retaliation for adultery, 77; menstruation customs in different tribes, 77; formal courtship and marriage customs, 78; presents to and from newly-married couples, 78; ancient customs disappearing, 78; husbands and wives sometimes faithful through life, 79; parents cannot arrange a marriage against will of the children, 79; decay and immorality accounted

3;Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

OUD

for, 79; women strong physically, 80; child-birth and nursing, 80; choice of names, 80; custom of praying over a child, 80; children, only, called by name, 80; children never coerced or reprimanded, 81; children often well-bred, 81; children sometimes angered by women, 81; women often ill-tempered, 81; methods of punishing children, 81; fear of revenge saves children from corporal punishment, 81; stricter than whites about marriage of blood-relations, 81; average family, 81; twins rare, 81; infants' food, 81; orphans, 81; women manage the home, 81; family distribution of labor, 82; husbands desert wives after misunderstandings, 82; marriage customs, 82; commit suicide over disappointments in love, 83; use of love charms, 83; use charms to get presents, 83; same for the chase, 83; ascribe ill-fortune in hunting to presence of missionaries, 84; believe dreams affect hunting, 84; skillful in use and repair of guns, 85; take pride in good work, 85; never curse, 85; use obscene expressions when enraged, 85; mothers love children, 85; carrying children on a board causes sickness and death, 85; custom obsolete, 85; men and women seldom sterile, 85; consider barrenness good cause for desertion, 85; houses fairly clean, 86; dogs scatter fleas, 86; utensils rarely clean, 86; use of spoons, bowls, etc., 86; women love finery, 86; men dress meanly, 86; women's dress, 86; clothing seldom washed, 87; paint faces and bodies, 87; women dress shabbily when old, 87; method of locating towns, 87; move towns because of lack of fuel, 87; use horses seldom except to ride, 87; know nothing of inheritances, 87; widows receive none of husband's goods, 87; dislike to be reminded of departed friends by possessing their goods, 88; widows and widowers do not marry for one year, 88; treatment of widows, 88; customs concerning funerals and burial-places, 88; graves dug by old women, 89; customs concerning grave-markers, 89; men ashamed to weep at funerals, 89; political relations, 90; free agents, 90; live where they please, 90; frequently live apart from towns, 90; much engaged in liquor traffic, 90; women sell rum, 90; inability to control liquor trade, 90; treatment of murderers, 90; frequently murder when intoxicated, 91; pay relatives of victims, 91; easily escape punishment for murder of relatives, 91; thieves escape punishment on payment being made, 91; governed in hunting by recognized rules, 91; treat old men graciously when hunting, 91; debtors must pay or friends must pay, 92; purchasers when dissatisfied may return the goods, 92; tribes involved in war by unruly members, 92; tribal organization, 92; chieftain's duties, 92; treatment of ambassadors by chiefs, 93; council and council-house, 93; chiefs keep the archives and belts, 93; council procedure, 93; wampum described, 94; language in council, 95; messages and carriers, 95; youths train to be messengers, 96; women never admitted to council, 96; methods of making addresses, 97; habit of having something in the hand when delivering a message, 97; method of refusing by making figurative replies, 97; use of peace-pipe, 98; chiefs cannot declare war, 98; custom of choosing chiefs, 98; inherit tribal rights from mother only, 98; division into tribes a guard against incest, 98; children belong to the mother, 98; rarely punish children through fear of later separation of man and wife, 99; regard wives as strangers, 99; chiefs not succeeded son, 99; chiefs expected to keep clans united, 99; method of choosing chiefs, 100; captain's office and influence, 100; methods of concluding peace, 100; boys trained to become captains, 101; warriors, 102; war-parties, size and and deportment, 103; methods of making war, 103; barbarities when victorious, 104; treatment of prisoners, 105; custom of burning at the stake, 106; not cannibals, 107; tribes take the name of place where they dwell, 111; method of election of chiefs, 112; ignore chiefs not properly elected, 113; reprimand chiefs, 113; methods of writing on trees, 114; method of declaring war, 114; modes of meeting,

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910

NM7 Delaware NM7

000

115; ignore empty compliments, 115; make no sign of greeting if enmity exists, 115; tobacco indispensable, 115; mix sumac with tobacco, 116; introduce fanciful thoughts in conversation without interruption, 116; laughing common, 116; attentive listeners, 116; never interrupt, 116; never shame one another, 116; love to be treated as worthy, 116; pleased to know they are liked, 116; treatment of guests, 116; principal diet, 116; like to talk of important affairs, 116; women usually smoke, 116; women carry stories from house to house, 116; men scout women's tales until confirmed, 116; articles of trade, 117; glad to cheat and steal, 117; fond of buying on credit, 117; ignore creditors when possible, 117; offended if dunned, 117; cancel all debts at outbreak of war, 117; traffic among themselves, 117; women sell rum, 117; appoint sacrifices in rum, 117; exchange everything but breech clout for rum, 118; youth dance every night, 118; mode of dancing, 118; games, 118; towns contest in gaming, 119; use of bows, 119; boys form close friendships, 119; customs on journeys, 119; never hurry on journeys, 120; eat before journeying, 120; dislike having evil acts disclosed, 120; dislike admonition, 120; forward messages received from dream, 120; treat guests royally, 120; treaty dance, 121; war dance, 121; attitude towards and opinion of Europeans, 121; love the French, 122; call whites Big Knives, 122; rarely guilty of violence or theft, 123; do not lock houses, 123; care of aged, 123; assist poor and needy, 124; possess negroes who intermarry, 124; never forget being cheated, 124; strange notions of giving and receiving, 124; women lie and gossip, 124; fear a bad name, 125; witchcraft and sorcery, 125; use of the witchball, 126; religious beliefs, 128; fear of death, 129; idea of God, 129; idea of devil not native, 130; idea of soul, 131; believe in transmigration, 131; traditions of flood, 131; idea of their origin, 132; belief in spirits, 132; reception of native preachers, 133; influenced against Europeans by native preachers, 133; preacher's idea of Heaven, 134; morals weakened by preachers, 135; modes of worship and sacrifice, 136; observe eat-all feasts, 136; dance decently at feasts, 137; celebrate various kinds of public feasts, 137; pay off old scores at orgies, 139; celebrate private feasts, 139; kept in slavery by the devil through dreams, 140; disdain native sacrifices after conversion, 140; make offerings to spirit of the dead, 140; imagine trivial pains to be caused by spirits, 140; travel long distances to graves of children to sacrifice, 140; reverence the hare, 140; legend about the hare, 140; idols, 141; ornaments, 141; fond of white children, 141; regard twins fortunate, 141; languages, 141-142; study oratory, 142; lack religious expressions, 143; adepts at dissembling, 143; language easy to pronounce, 143; have few monosyllables, 144; have ten words meaning bear, 144; count up to hundreds of thousands, 144; unable to grasp large numbers, 144; women count on fingers because of poor memory, 144; make little progress in arithmetic, 144; usually count in Dutch money, 144; know little of writing, 145; esteem a sealed letter highly, 145; writing may last fifty years, 145; ashamed of their Indian names, 145; method of reckoning time, 145; do not know their age, 145; names for months, 145; differ as to beginning of the year, 145; well versed in genealogies, 146; respect the rich, 146; remember feats of ancestors in wars with Cherokees and Iroquois, 146; never formally divide territory, 147; bound territory by rivers, portages and mountains, 147; have no conception of geography, 147; ideas of the sun, 147; ideas of thunder, 148; name certain stars, 148; notions of astronomy, 148; greatly fear death, 148; impositions of doctors, 148; use of white walnut bark, 148; seldom go mad, 149; suffer from boils, 149; proficient in setting broken bones, 149; method of setting broken leg, 149; treatment of toothache, 149; laugh at one who cries out in an operation, 149; little affected by misfortune, 149; suffer from diarrhoea,

080

149; often suffer from overdoses, 150; widows observe mourning customs, 150; high regard of peace-pipe, 151.
Indians (by tribes).
  Catawba, mentioned, 108.
  Cayugas, mentioned, 40, 41; see Iroquois.
  Cherokees, early relations with Delawares, 32 *seq.*; wars with Six Nations and Wyandots, 33; trade with Delawares, 54; guilty of torture, 107; dialect, 142, 146.
  Chippewa, dialect, 142; classed with dark-skinned Indians, 154.
  Creeks, [Moskos] war with Shawanese, 106, 147.
  Delamattenos, see Wyandots.
  Delawares, Zeisberger first met, 3, 4; legends of "conquest" by Iroquois, 8, 34 *seq.*; 146-147; women braid hair, 12; more cleanly than Iroquois, 17; one family in a house, 17; history, 27 *seq.*; tribal divisions, 27; early relations with Cherokees, 32 *seq.*; called "Woapanachky", 28; claim to Ohio land recognized by Wyandots, 33; language more difficult than Iroquois, 41; date of leaving Allegheny River, 43; buy pipes from Cherokees, 54; private customs of women, 77; use rifles, 85; attempted formal village, 87; leagued with many nations, 108; attitude in Revolutionary War, 109; made powerful by Chief Netawatwes, 111; without real ruler, 113; name (*Lenni Lenape*) 114; sold land treacherously to whites, 122; endeavored to extirpate "witch-ball", 126; relation of language to various nations, 142; dialects, 143; drove of Iroquois, 146.
  Five Nations, see Iroquois.
  "Flatheads" [Twightwees] see Miamis.
  Hurons, see Wyandots.
  Iroquois [Six Nations, Five Nations] visited by Post and Zeisberger, 2, 3; archives kept by Zeisberger, 3; women braid hair, 12; less cleanly than Delawares, 17; houses, 17; treacherous, 20; at war with Cherokees, 33; legend of "conquest" of Delawares, 33 *seq.*; country (New York) described, 36, 37, 38, 40, 50; orchards, 39; various tribes (Oneidas, Senecas, Onondagas, Mohawks, Cayugas, Tuscarawas) 40; language, Wyandot resembled, 40; Wyandots allied to, 40; enterprise in war, 40; language easier to learn than Delaware, 41; degeneration, 41; little engaged in trade, 41; private customs of women, 77; marriage planned by parents, 79; guilty of torture, 107; towns had dice tournament, 119; danced war dance in time of peace, 121; dialect, 142; oratory boastful, 142; name for Cassiopeia, 146; tribe of Senecas known as Mingoes in West, 154.
  Kaskaskias [Kaskaski], leagued with Delawares, 108; dialect, 142.
  Kickapoos [Kikapus] leagued with Delawares, 108; gave Delawares hunting grounds on Wabash River, 142; dialect, 142; gave Wyandots hunting grounds, 147.
  Mahikanders, see Mohicans.
  Menomonies, mentioned, 154.
  Miamis [Twichtwees] private customs of women, 77; leagued with Delawares, 108; dialect, 142.
  Mohawks, 40; see Iroquois.
  Mohicans [Mahikanders] war with Iroquois, 30; leagued with Delawares, 108; dialect, 141.
  Money, Indian terms for European, 144.
  Monsey, mentioned, 27; dialect, 141-142; lived on Beaver River, 153; see Delawares.
  Moskos, see Creeks.
  Nanticokes, strange burial custom, 90; originated famous poison, 100; dialect, 141.
  Oneidas, 40; see Iroquois.
  Onondagas, 40, 135; see Iroquois.
  Ottawas, mentioned, 19; dialect, 142; small stature, 154.
  Pottowatamies, leagued with Delawares, 108.
  Senecas, 40; see Iroquois.
  Shawanese, [Shawnoo] women braid hair, 18; private custom of women, 77; used rifle-barrelled guns, 86; guilty of torture, 107; war with Creeks, 106; history, 108; at odds

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

000

with Delawares, 109; use of war besom, 127; dialect, 142.
Sioux [Su] mentioned, 118.
Six Nations, see Iroquois.
Tukashas [Tuckachachas] leagued with Delawares, 108; dialect, 142.
Tuscarawas, mentioned, 40, 41.
Twightwees, "Flatheads", see Miamis.
Unalochtgos, see (Wunalachtico) Delaware.
Unami, mentioned, 27; dialect, 141, 144; lived on Tuscarawas River, 160; see Delawares.
Wawiachtenos, leagued with Delawares, 108; dialect, 142.
Wunalachtico, [Unalochtgos] a tribe of Delaware Nation, 27; see Delaware.
Wyandots, [Wiondatoo, Wiandots, Delamattenos] women braid hair, 18; treacherous, 19; war with Cherokees, 33; recognized Delawares' claim to Ohio land, 33; allied with Iroquois, 40; language like Iroquois, 40; came to Muskingum for vermillion, 55; guilty of torture, 107; called Delamattenos by Delawares, 110 (see Thomas); dialect, 142; given hunting grounds by Kickapoos, 147.
Ingratitude, an Indian characteristic, 124.
Inheritances, unknown among Indians, 87; see Death.
Immorality, wide-spread, 90.
Injuries, no method of recovering damages for, 92; friends asked to make good, 92.
Insane, Indians seldom, 149.
Iron pyrites, see Fool's Gold.
Iron, Indians clever in working, 31.

J.

Jack's mountain, mentioned, 162.
January, name for month, 146.
Johnson, Life and Times of, see Stone.
Johnson, Sir William, mentioned, 38, 108.
Journal of a Tour, see Baily.
Journey, provisions taken for, 28; routine while on, 120; leaders on, 119.
July, name of month of, 145.
June, name for month of, 146.

K.

Kaolin, or China Clay, mentioned, 184.
Kekalemchpekoong, Delaware capital at Newcomerstown, O., 150.
Kentucky, settlements in, 43.
Kentucky River, mentioned, 162.
Keokuk, height of, 184.
Kettles, made of clay and sea shells, 29.
Kindness, an Indian characteristic, 123, 124.
Kittaning [*Kittannaunk*] Pa., Shawanese at, 160.
Knives, made of flint, 28.
Knowledge, increase of among Indians, brought increased wickedness, 133.

L.

Land, Delawares sell treacherously, 122; boundaries and divisions, 147.
Language, Indian, described, 141-144; difference of dialects due to separation, 141; Unami, 141; Wunalachtico, 141; Monseys, 141; Mahikanders, 141; Nantikoks, 141; Shawanese, 142; Miamis, 142; Wawiachtanos, 142; Kickapoos, 142; Tuckachachas, 142; Creeks, 142; Kaskaskias, 142; Ottawas, 142; Chippewas, 142; Cherokees, 142; Iroquois, 142; Wyandots, 142; Delawares, 141-142; two principal (Iroquois and Delaware), 142; pronunciation easy, 143; richness of, 144.
Laughter, common among Indians, 116; at pain, 149.
Laurel (wild box), mentioned, 153; swamps of, bears haunt, 153.
Laurel Hill, mentioned, 42.
Lawless, persons driven away by friends, 92; have involved most tribes in war, 92.
Laziness, common, 18.
Legend, of Delawares being made "women", 34 *seq.*; 150.
Lenni-Lenape, see Delawares.
Leggings, described, 86.
Ligonier, Pa., mentioned, 162.
Linden, mentioned, 47.
Liquor, women engage in trade of, 90; chiefs attempt to stop trade in, 90; causes murder, 90; see Rum.
Little Turtle, mentioned, 171.
Liver complaint, treatment of, 157.
Lizards, mentioned, 72.
Logan, height of, 184.

CVO

Loon, described, 68; skin used to make tobacco pouches, 68.
Loskiel, Rev. Henry, *History of the Mission of the United Brethren*, quoted, 155, 159; version of Iroquois "conquest" of Delawares, 159.
Love Charm, sold by aged, to hold lovers faithful, 83.
Louwaneu, the North Star, 148.
Lynx, described, 64.

Mc.

McClure, Rev. David, *Diary*, quoted, 156; on sweating-ovens, 160; on Indian dancing houses, 156; on Indian marital fidelity 156, 171.

M.

Machtando, the "Evil One," 130.
Machtandonwinck, "with the devil," 130.
Machtuzin, "to perspire", name of fire, 138.
Manittos, Indian idea of, 132-133; each Indian has his, 132; used in worship of fire, 138; determined by dreams, 139; worshipped, 139.
Mantewits, mentioned, 101.
Maple, mentioned, 47.
Maple sugar, making described, 48-51; profit from, 50; in the fall, 48.
"Marble", white and red, (sandstone), 54.
March (month) most Indians begin year with, 146.
Marital vows increasingly ignored, 78-79; reasons therefor, 79.
Marriage, usual age of, 20, 82; Iroquois customs, 79; not compulsory, 79; slightest provocation disrupts, 82; arranged by parents, 170.
Marten, furs greatly valued, 63.
Materia Medica, of Indians, 25, 55 57.
Match-making, formal custom of, 78.
Mats, of rushes, Indian women color, 17; use of, 17.
Mattapassigan, famous poison of the Nantikoks, 126.
May, name for month of, 145.
May Apples, mentioned, 47.
Meat, Indians cooked well, 14.
Mechmenawungihilla, Indian name of Monongahela River, 43.
Medicine, roots, herbs and barks used as, 25; large doses common, 25, 55.
Menhangik, "travelling companions", Iroquois name for Cassiopeia, 148.
Menstrual, customs among women of various tribes, 77-78.
Mental power, of Indians, 21.
Midwives, mentioned, 80.
Milk, Indians' use of, 14.
Milky Way, the road to the Spirit Land, 148.
Minerals, Muskingum Valley, 53, 54.
Mitchner, C. H., *Historic Events in the Muskingum and Tuscarawas Valleys*, cited, 172.
Missionaries, only really knew the Indian, 20; blamed for bad luck in hunting, 84; improvised spiritual expressions, 131, 143; hated by native preachers, 135; threatened by sorcerers, 172.
Mocking bird, mentioned, 69.
Monongahela River, explanation of name, 43.
Months, names, see respective names.
Moose, in Iroquois land, 28; migrate from Canada, 38; described, 63.
Moravian, Archives, Zeisberger's *Mss.* in, 6.
Mortimer, Rev. Benjamin, on Zeisberger, 5.
Mosquitos, mentioned, 75; made camping in forests intolerable, 75.
Mosquito-hawk, mentioned, 152.
Mounds, of early Indians, 30.
Moundbuilding, Indians, 150; remains, at Lichtenau, 130; covered charnel houses, 150.
Mourning, for chief, ceremonial, 150-151.
Murder, caused by liquor, 90; committed by person intoxicated not punished, 90; persons intoxicated in order to commit, 90-91; atoned for by fine, 91.
Muscular development, among Indians, Schoolcraft on, 154.
Muskingum River, reached by Delaware about 1773-4, 43; name and meaning of, 44; described, 44; navigation, 44; frozen, 45; fish of 73.
Muskingum Valley, berries, 45; nuts, 46; vines, 51; deserted by buffalo, 59; snakes 69.
Muskrat, described, 63; burrowings damage dams, 64.

4

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910

NM7 Delaware NM7

000

N.

Names, Indians ashamed of, 80, 145; prefer those given by whites, 145.

Nations, divided into three tribes, 92; named from the places in which they live, 111.

Negroes, owned by Indians, 134; made free, 124; intermarry, 124.

Netawatwes, Chief of Delawares, mentioned, 98, 111, 113, 171; ceremony at death 150.

Neville's Island, scene of traditional battle between Delawares and Cherokees, 160; located, 171.

New York, lakes of, described, 161.

Niagara Falls, mentioned, 38; Indians lived on fish killed at, 39; Iroquois killed going over, 39; Iroquois saved on Goat Island, 39.

Nine-pins, game of, 118.

Nitgochk, "My companion in play", familiar title among Delawares, 142.

November, name for month of, 146.

Nursing, Indians poor at, 25; of wounded, remarkable, 25.

Nuts, of Ohio, 46; oil used, 46.

O.

Oak, trees found in Muskingum Valley, 47.

Obscenity, Indian form of swearing, 85.

Obstetrics, Indian treatment, 158.

October, name for month of, 146.

Oneida Lake, mentioned, 39.

Onenge, Indian name of French Creek, 42.

Ohio, climate described, 44; little snow falls in, 44; varying climate in northern and southern, 44; winters have many cloudy days, 45.

Ohio Country, described, 42; weather in, 42.

"Ohio Path", mentioned, 171.

Ohio River, named by Iroquois, 83; navigation of, 43; east side early settled, 43; floods, 110; flood drive animals to high ground, 110.

Ohio State Achaeological and Historical Society Publications cited, 150.

Oil, secured from nuts, 46; three kinds of wells described, 52-53; methods of securing, 52; used to cure tooth-ache, 53; swellings, rheumatism, strains, etc., 53; taken internally, 53; sold to whites, 163.

Old age, lack of respect for, sign of deterioration, 76; preceded dissolute living, 79.

Opossum, described, 62; lived in carcasses, 62; rarely eaten by Indians, 62.

Orators, training, 95-96, 143.

Oratory, Indian, 142-144; very boastful, 142; required much knowledge, 142; often veiled, 143; without hesitation, 143; men constantly trained in, 143; see language.

Orchards, Indian, in New York, 39.

Origin, Indian no tradition of their, 122.

Oriole, mentioned, 69.

Ornaments, described, 141.

Orphans, treated kindly, 81.

Otter, described, 61; skins used for tobacco pouches, 116.

Overdosing, common, 160.

Owls, mentioned, 66; tobacco sacrificed to, 128.

P.

Packoango, Tortoise tribe, 92; first in rank, 92.

Painting, common among men and women, 87; of loose women, 170.

Panther, described, 59; power of leaping, 60; never caused injury unprovoked, 60; method of awing, 60; in bear fight, 60.

Parkman, *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, cited, 160.

Papooses, change in method of carrying, 86; see Babes.

Paralysis, treatment for, 158.

Parrots, found along the Muskingum, 68, common to the southward, 68.

Parsnips, wild, 47.

Partridges, live near settlements, 66.

Paste, made from elm-wood bark, 23.

Paw-paw, mentioned, 46.

Peace-pipe, described, 151-152; see Pipe.

Pennsylvania, central and western portions, described, 36 *seq.*; swamps, 37; fish, 37.

Personal liberty, of Indians complete, 96.

Petticoat, see stroud, 86.

Pheasants palatable to Indians, 66; killed by birds of prey, 66; lay many eggs, 66.

Phlegmon, treatment for, 158.

Pigeon, described, 66, in great flocks, 66.

Pigeon-hawk, mentioned, 67.

3;Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910

NM7 Delaware NM7

CDD

Pike, mentioned, 67, 73.
Pipes, description of stones and clays which made good, 54; red "marble" made best, 54; Delaware and Cherokee trade in, 54; of peace, described, 90; and pouch, indispensable, 115.
Pitch-pine, mentioned, 51.
Pitcher, Dr. Zina, on Indian diseases and materia medica, 137-150.
Pittsburg, position, 42-43.
Plains, western, described, 115.
"Planting month", see April.
Planting, begins in May, 18.
Pleurisy, treatment for, 137.
Plover, mentioned, 152.
Plums, mentioned, 46.
Poison Ivy, mentioned, 50; some Indians easily affected by, 50.
Poisons, knowledge of, 50.
Pole-cat, described, 62; relished by Indians, 62.
Polygamy, rare among Indians, 81.
Pontiac's Rebellion, mentioned, 138.
Poor, treated kindly, 123-124.
Poplar, mentioned, 47.
Pots, made of clay and sea-shells, 29.
Potato, wild, 47.
Porcupine, described, 63; quills colored for ornamentation, 63.
Pouches, for tobacco, indispensable, 115; fancy, 116.
"Praying over the child", custom of, 80.
Preachers, influence of wicked native, 133; impostures of, 133-134; influence against Europeans, 133; introduced polygamy, 135; claimed equality with God, 135; hated missionaries, 135.
Produce, raised by women belongs to husband, 16.
Profession, indicated by dreams, 161.
Pride, a peculiar savage characteristic, 18; enhanced by dreams, 18; humbled before conversion, 19.
Priests, old men acted as, 130; formerly restrained wickedness, 130.
Primeval Indian, described, 28, *seq.*; his arts and customs, 28; utensils, 29; hunting ability, 29; use of bow, 29; method of fire making, 29; underground dwellings, 29.
Prisoners, killed by Indians, 19; treatment of, 104-107.
Private life, of Indians, dissolute, 185; facts known only by missionaries, 185.
Prostitutes, method of painting, 170.
Ptuckst, Wolfe tribe, 92.
Putting shot, contests, 118.

Q.

Quarrels, settled by wampum, 18.

R.

Raccoon, season for hunting, 13; described, 60; skin used for hats, 61; flesh tasty, 61.
Rain prophets, trickery, 120.
Rattlesnake, described, 70; bite easily healed by Indians, 70; in Susquehannah Valley, 70-71; said to poison itself, 72; power to charm, 72; mentioned, 153.
Red bird, mentioned, 69.
Red Jacket, height of, 134.
Religion, Indian, described, 128, 133.
Revenge, an Indian characteristic, 18.
Revolutionary War, lawless Indians involved peaceful nation in, 92; unmanageable Indians involved the Delawares in, 92.
Rheumatism, treatment for, 24, 55; common to women, 21.
Rich, Indians much respected, 146; give Chiefs wampum, 146.
Rifle-barreled guns, favored by Delawares and Shawanese, 85.
Road-belt, described, 95.
Rock Fish, mentioned, 67.
Roofs, various types, 18.
Rum, sold by women, 117; "Sacrifice" of, 117; principle of article of trade among Indians, 117; exchange everything for, 118; led to violence, 120; offered as drink offering to the dead, 140; sacrificed to toothache and headache, 14.

S.

St. Lawrence River, navigation, 41.
Salmon, best fish in Iroquois land, 88.
Salt, charm against witchcraft, 126.
Salt licks, mentioned, 53.
Salt Rheum, treatment for, 153.
Salt Springs, in Ohio Basin, 44.
Sassafras, mentioned, 47.
Schoolcraft, Henry, *History . . . of the Indian tribes*, cited, 134, 135, 137.
Scioto, [Sioto] Shawanese on, 100; mentioned, 103.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

ooo

Scull's Map, mentioned, 171.
Seals, killed on Susquehannah River, 37.
Seduction, retaliation for, 77.
Self-control, Indians possess much, 124.
Seneca Lake, mentioned, 40.
Sentiment, among animals, 165.
September, name for month of, 146.
Shad, mentioned, 37; "month", see March.
Sheldrake, described, 65; palatable, 66.
Shirts, worn by Indian women, 86; dyed with cinnabar, 87.
Shoes, mentioned, 86.
Shooting, practiced by Indian boys, 119.
Sick, little cared for, 23; diet of, 25.
Sideling Hill, mentioned, 42.
Slaves, Indians owned negro, 121; made free, 124.
Small-pox, ravages, 140; sweating-ovens did not cure, 150.
Snakes, in Muskingum Valley, 68.
Snake poison, Indian varying treatment for different, 150.
Snails, described, 74-75.
Snipe, mentioned, 182.
Snow-shoes, use of, 23; how made, 24.
Sorcerers, and the Black Art described, 125-129; mental power, 173.
Sores, festering, common, 24.
Soul, Indian idea of, 131; transmigration of, 131.
Spirit, voracious, worshipped, 138.
Spoon bill cat fish, mentioned, 74.
Spruce, mentioned, 51.
Squalle Gischuch, "month of frogs", (February), 146.
Squirrels, various species, 61; flying, mentioned, 182.
Stag, American deer like European, 56.
Stars, Indians named certain, 148.
Starlings, mentioned, 69.
Stealing, see Theft.
Stone, Wm. L., *Life of Sir William Johnson*, cited, 169.
Stone birch, mentioned, 52.
Stone falcon, mentioned, 67.
"Stone Tree", Indian name for Sugar Maple, 48.
Stroud, described, 86.
Sturgeon, mentioned, 73.
Sucker, mentioned, 73.
Sugar making, see Maple Sugar.
Sugar Maple, Indian name of, 48.
Suicide, as result of infidelity, 82.
Sullivan's Expedition, mentioned, 40, 161.
Sumac, for smoking, 116.
Summer hunting, character of, 13.
Sun, Indian idea of, 147.
Superstition, promoted by elders, 68.
Susquehannah Valley, described, 36 *seq.*; River, seals killed in, 37; story of rattlesnakes in, 71.
Swallows, mentioned, 152.
Swamps, in Pennsylvania, 37; in New York, 37; nature of timber in, 37; surround Iroquois country, 37.
Swans, toothsome to Indians, 65.
Swearing, see Cursing.
Sweating-ovens, doctors use of, 20; how made, 20; described by Dr. McClure, 150; fatal to small-pox and consumption, 150.
Syphilis, treatment for, 158.

T.

Talamatans, see Thomas.
Tattooing, 13.
Tennessee River, known as "Cherokee" from Cherokee Nation, 33, 180.
Theft, mentioned, 10; considered disgraceful, 91; satisfaction for, 91.
Thomas, Cyrus, "Indian Tribes in Prehistoric Times", cited, 172.
Thunder, Indian idea of, 147.
Thurnstein, Lord of, 42.
"Thurnstein", "The, mentioned, 102.
Time, methods of reckoning, 145.
Titles, Indian Tribes particular as to, 148.
Tobacco, never smoked pure, 116; sacrificed to owls, 139.
Tom-tits, mentioned, 69.
Toothache, rum sacrificed to cure, 140; treatment for, 109.
Tournament, Iroquois dice, described, 119.
Towns, how situated and planned, 87; Goschachgunk, a regularly planned, 87; located with respect to fuel, 87; two Iroquois, in dice tournament, 119.
Trade, Iroquois, amounted to little, 41; articles of Indian, 118.
Traders, losses of Indian, 10; evil influences, 79; Indians glad to deceive, 117; robbed by Indians, 117; how many bad debts, [illegible] articles carried by, 118.
Transmigration, of souls, 131.
Treachery, Indian, stories of, 19.
Treaty, text kept by Chiefs, 94; of peace, 97.
Treaty Dance, described, 121.

Trees, killed to increase arable acreage, 89; of Ohio, 47, 48, 51, 54, 108 *seq.* Indians wrote on, 114.
Tribal, divisions, 92.
Tribes, created to prevent intermarriage of relatives, 91, 92.
Trout, mentioned, 47.
Tschipeghacke, [Tschipey Hacki] the "land of spirits", 134, 147; only the good will enter, 131; Milky Way, the road to, 148.
Tschimammus, see Hare.
Tulpehocken, mentioned, 42.
Turkey, wild, its plumage changes color, 69; eggs eaten by Indians, 69.
Turtle, eggs and flesh relished by Indians, 74.
Turtle Creek, scene of Braddock's defeat, 43.
Turtle doves, mentioned, 69, 152.
Turtle tribe, repeopled the world after the flood, 131.
Tuscarawas River, Unamis lived beside, 130; Unalachtigos, lived beside, 130.
Twins, rare among Indians, 81; regarded as fortunate, 141.

U.

Undelbowen, "Delaware" thought to be derived from, 114.
Ulcers, treatment for, 158.
Underground dwellings, mentioned, 86.

V.

Venango, early name of French Creek, 42.
Venereal disease, ravages of, 24.
Vermillion, for painting, 53; found in Muskingum Valley, 53; used to color men's heads, 87.
Vermillion River, mentioned, 170.
Vines, 48, Muskingum Valley, 51.
Violet, blue, used to make a decoction to cure felon, 158.
Vipers, described, 71.
"Vomit Town", see Waketameki.

W.

Wabash River, tribes on, 109; country on, 110; buffalo on, 110.
Waketameki, called "Vomit Town", 172.
Walnut bark, medicinal properties of, 56; reduces swelling, 57; allays toothache, etc., 57; mentioned, 77; used to blister, 148; concoction of, used to stop bleeding, 149.
Wampum, uses of, 19, 81; kinds of, 81-93; accompany speeches, 94; ceremony of refusing, 94, 111-118; made of sea-mussel shells, 94; color and manufacture, 94-95; of two hundred shells worth a Spanish dollar, 94; made by women, 95; for Road Belt, 95; of black signifies warning, 95; of red means war, 95; white means peace, 95; furnished by tribe, 95; used in election of chief, 112; mentioned, 130; primitive, 170.
Wapiti, related to the stag, 104.
War, how declared, 111; all debts cancelled on outbreak of, 117.
War Dance, described, 100, 121.
War Parties, small in number, 100; how conducted, 101-105.
Warfare, earliest fashion of, 81; serious because difficult to end, 102; method of carrying on, 102-105; begun to regain land once sold, 129.
Warriors, described, 102-105; take medicine to preserve life, 127.
Washing: not characteristic of all Indian women, 87.
Washington's Tour to the Ohio, by A. B. Hulbert, cited, 168.
Wasps, mentioned, 152.
Water, determined location of towns, 87; see also Fuel.
Water-leech, mentioned, 67.
Water-dogs, mentioned, 74.
Water snake, described, 72.
Weeping, at funerals, 89.
Wheaton, J. M., quoted, 168.
Whip-poor-will, mentioned, 152.
White Eyes, mentioned, 172.
"White Indians", mentioned, 154.
White Perch, mentioned, 74.
Widowers, retained nothing of wife's property, 88; not remarry within one year, 88; often marry deceased wife's sister, 88; had no rules of conduct, 130.
Widows, not to remarry within one year, 88; must live by own industry, 88; must not purchase meat, 88; after one year friends assist, 88; are in disrepute if remarried within one year, 88; retain nothing of husband's property, 87-88; rules of conduct for, 130.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

Wife, strange idea of relationship between husband and, 89.
Wild cats, described, 60.
Wild grapes, mentioned, 66.
Wild Laurel, mentioned, 66.
Winters, various facts concerning Ohio, 44-45.
W'ine Gischuch, "when the corn is in the milk", (August), 145.
Witchcraft, Indian, described, 125-129; no effect on Europeans because they eat salt, 128.
Witch-ball", "Shooting the, murderous practice of the Nanticoke sorcerers, 128.
W'oapanachke, see Lenni Lenape.
Woapanachky, name of the Delawares, 88, 160.
Wolves, follow hunters to feast on game, 14; Indians rarely shoot, 14; skin of no value, 14, 64; described, 64; gray and black, 64; common comrades when deer is killed, 65.
Women, strong bodily, 80; love finery, 80; dress described, 80; conversation of, 118; reports circulated by, receive no credit, 118, 121; sell rum, 117; addicted to lying and gossiping, 124; had poor memory, 114; hardships discredited by Heckewelder, 154; Loskiel on temper of, 158.
Woodpecker, mentioned, 67.
Worship, [Sacrifices], described, 136-141; by families, 136-137; dancing at, 137; various feasts connected with, 137-140; 'ngammuin, 138; voracious spirit, 139; fire, 139; eat-all feasts, 140; in sweating-ovens, 138.
Wounds, treated skillfully by Indians, 126.
Wrens, mentioned, 69.
Wrestling, bouts, 118.
Writing, Indian, 114, 145.
W'tellenapewoagan, the "Substance of a Human Being", 131.
W'tschitschank, word for "Spirit", 131.
Wyoming, [Wajomick] Pa., Shawanese at, 109; Neville's Island, scene of Delaware-Cherokee battle, 109; flats compared with Wabash region, 110.

Y.

Yellow bird, mentioned, 69.
Yellow perch, mentioned, 57.
Yellow Ochre, mentioned, 104.

Z.

Zeisberger, David, early life, 1; goes to Iroquois, 2-3; work in New York and Pennsylvania, 3-4; enters Ohio, 4; last years, 4-5; *Diary*, mentioned, 4; Heckewelder, on character of, 5; Mortimer on, 5-6; wrote history for Loskiel, 7; published works and manuscripts, 10-11; portrays Indian degeneration, 170.
Zinzendorf, Count, mentioned, 102.

[For information on Delaware acculturation, and its extent at different historic time periods, see category 116, pp. 79-128.]